

ial

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SPECIAL ISSUE

PROCEEDINGS FROM THE THIRD UCLA CONFERENCE ON
LANGUAGE, INTERACTION, AND CULTURE

EMBODIMENT IN DISCOURSE

ARTICLES

Demonstrating Reciprocity: Resources for the Unacknowledged Recipient

Mardi Kidwell

Transforming Participation Frameworks in Multi-party Mandarin Conversation: The Use of Discourse Particles and Body Behavior

Ruey-Juan Regina Wu

Instruction Recipient in Face to Face Interaction

Carmen Teleghani-Nikazm and Andrea Vlaten

¡Mueve la Almohada! ¡Levante la Cara!

(Move the pillow. Lift your head)

An Analysis of Correction Talk in Mexican and Central American Parent Child Interaction

Fazila Bhimji

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Editorial

Embodiment in Discourse

Over the past 20 years, approaches within disciplines across the social sciences and humanities, including Anthropology (e.g., Duranti, 1997; Duranti and Goodwin, 1992), Applied Linguistics (e.g., Goodwin, 1981; Ochs, 1992), Education (e.g., Gutierrez, 1995), and Sociology (e.g., Heritage, 1984; Sacks et. al., 1974; Schegloff, 1972), have converged in their appreciation of language, interaction and culture as embodied phenomena (Schegloff, Ochs, & Thompson, 1996). While these various approaches share many elements, we believe one is central: language, interaction, and culture can be most fruitfully investigated via the detailed examination of courses of conduct unfolding in real time. Celebrating the core, as well as the broadest, elements of this convergence, UCLA's 1997 Conference on Language, Interaction, and Culture chose 'Embodiment in Discourse' as its theme. The fruits of this endeavor are collected in this volume.

Contributing in the first place to their own disciplines of Anthropology, Applied Linguistics, Education, Germanic Languages, and Sociology, the following seven papers participate in the above described 'core' by relying on transcripts and video stills drawn from audio and video recorded data. Beyond this shared element, however, these papers are most striking for their range of focus. Briefly introducing each should give some indication of the rich understanding facilitated by focusing on the embodiment of culture, language and interaction in discourse.

At its most literal, 'Embodiment in Discourse' can be understood to thematize that it is participants-in-bodies who conduct discourse. Both Kidwell and Wu focus on participants' active management of participation frameworks through a combination of gaze, gesture and talk. Kidwell expands our understanding of the category 'recipient' by focusing on what she aptly names 'recipient proactivity.' As Kidwell notes, the current literature on reciprocity primarily emphasizes how speakers shape talk for their recipients. In contrast, she focuses squarely on reciprocity itself as a course of action by analyzing a stretch of interaction in which an unaddressed participant constitutes herself as a recipient of in-progress talk. Kidwell describes how this participant first demonstrates her reciprocity through gaze direction and escalates her intervention to include talk. While Kidwell's paper highlights that gesture, gaze and talk can be alternative resources, Wu demonstrates the depth at which they can work in concert. Wu first describes two turn formats that speakers of Mandarin deploy to involve previously inactive participants, one that continues the trajectory of prior talk, and a second that is disjunctive with it. Wu then demonstrates that the different ways that speakers comport themselves in the course of uttering these turns 'embody' their orientation to the

degree the actions they initiate with them are disjunctive.

It is also participants-in-bodies that draw on combinations of gaze, gesture and talk to realize and organize activities in interaction. Taleghani-Nikazm and Vlaten examine the activities of instruction giving and instruction receiving during the course of a cooking lesson. They show (consistent with Kidwell) that recipients draw on a variety of gestures, other embodied actions, and talk to receipt, repeat, and initiate repair on instructions. For example, the authors note that, at times, it is a combination of a verbal token plus a gesture that marks receipt of an instruction, whereas in other cases, it is a gesture that serves to further the activity being undertaken. Likewise, the paper by Bhimji examines the verbal and non-verbal cues employed by parents while correcting their children's behavior. She argues that to correct their children parents draw on forms of teasing as well as "mitigated" and "unmitigated" forms of repair. Bhimji suggests that the differences between this and other studies of adult-child correction are tied to the different activities in which the participants are involved. From participation frameworks to the organization of activities then, these authors demonstrate the continuing importance of attending to the literally embodied character of human conduct.

But, this theme need not be read only literally. Embodiment in Discourse can also direct our attention to the myriad ways that interactants realize identities, political stances, and cultures as worldly objects in and through determinant courses of conduct. For example, Larson describes how a first grade teacher socializes her students using a writing process that primarily emphasizes whole language pedagogy, but that nonetheless draws on the 'basic' skills typically emphasized in the phonics approach. She notes that while these two approaches are frequently cast as mutually exclusive in political debates that treat teaching philosophies as disembodied phenomena, such views fail to engage what actually happens in the classroom. While Larson emphasizes the gulf between political debates about conduct and actual conduct, Clark focuses on how the abstract categories frequently drawn on in such debates are instantiated and reinforced in interaction. Clark describes how a teacher can alternatively foreground his identity as an African American or as a teacher through his use of particular rhetorical styles. Moreover, he argues that the teacher's modeling of "elite" styles of talk over "vernacular" ones further promotes middle class and white ways of talking.

Finally, moving to culture, Monaghan explores the issue of embodiment in terms of the intersection of sign language and space. Looking at the meetings of a New Zealand Deaf women's group, she explores the reflexive relationship between the interactants' use of space and their use of both sign language and lip speaking. Using a quantitative analysis of the seating patterns at these meetings, the author argues that in this Deaf community there is a general random pattern that reflects an emphasis on group interactions rather than on interactions with persons seated next to each other. This contrasts with what one might expect in hearing Western European culture. Viewed more broadly then, this theme invites us to re-engage aspects of human conduct too often treated as general, ephemeral

and omnirelevant and respecify them as embodied in detailed, concrete and particular courses of action.

This volume also embodies *our* first effort as new editors of *ial*: a collaborative effort with Geoff Raymond (Sociology, UCLA) serving as guest co-editor and Emmy Goldknopf (Applied Linguistics, UCLA) serving as assistant editor. Though Betsy Rymes' tenure as editor of *ial* ended with the last issue, we continue to reap the rewards of her expert stewardship. We thank her for this and only hope we can maintain and build on the high standards she established.

December 1997

Anna Guthrie
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Demonstrating Reciprocity: Knowledge Displays as a Resource for the Unaddressed Participant

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This paper expands conversation analytic notions of reciprocity by considering recipient proactivity. At issue are the methods by which an unaddressed participant of a story-in-progress makes claims on a teller's attention through a series of upgraded responses to the story. These claims range from gaze direction toward the teller, to displays of knowledge of particular story components. The recipient's displays of knowledge regarding the story provide a resource for her to elicit the teller's attention, thereby providing her a method of challenging the participation framework of the ongoing talk.

INTRODUCTION

This paper will examine the methods by which an unaddressed participant of a story-in-progress displays her reciprocity to a teller who addresses her talk to another participant. At issue is a shift of emphasis in how we have so far regarded reciprocity. With the exception of Goodwin (1981), conversation analytic work has addressed the issue of reciprocity primarily from the point of view of speakers' actions. That is, how do speakers orient to others as potential recipients of their talk, and how is talk organized as a response to recipient action? Goodwin (1980, 1986, 1987) and others (e.g., Streeck, 1993; Heath, 1992) have examined the relationship of eye gaze, gesture, speech perturbations, and recipients' knowledge states to speakers' moves to elicit and maintain recipients' attention to their talk. Another angle from which these topics might be addressed, however, is from the point of view of recipient action: how do recipients orient to others as speakers and display their "entitlement" to talk-in-progress? What are the methods through which reciprocity is organized as an activity in its own right, one that, like speakership, warrants a ratified status by other parties - especially the speaker - to an interaction?

Goodwin, in "Designing Talk for Different Types of Recipients" (1981), proposes that speakers are sensitive to recipients' states of knowledge regarding their talk, and consequently design their talk for *knowing* and *unknowing* recipients. Recipients and speakers' common knowledge of particular components of talk, such as a name or a reference to a shared experience can be used by speakers as a warrant for recipient attention. For example, in Goodwin's paper, "Forgetfulness as an Interactive Resource" (Goodwin, 1987), Mike, who is sitting at a table with five other people, begins to tell a story but cuts off in the middle of a word

and produces a new sentence that formulates a search for a name:

Mike: I was watching Johnny Carson one night
 en there was a guy by the na—*What* was
 that guys' name. = Blake?

As Mike initiates the search for the name he turns to his wife Phyllis, designating her a *knowing* recipient and one who can likely provide the name being searched for. The particular format of this action provides Mike with a resource for altering the course of the interaction as it is unfolding at that moment: Phyllis has been engaged in a competing line of talk with the other woman at the table, and although she doesn't respond to Mike's request for help in the name search, Mike's action draws the other participants into the search and effectively dislodges Phyllis from the competing line of talk.

This example demonstrates how a speaker (Mike) uses a recipient's knowledge state (Phyllis') as a resource for eliciting attention to his story from the others present: his wife's lack of a response to the search opens up the search to others at the table who become co-participants in the word search activity (Goodwin, 1987: 127). It is argued in this paper that *recipients* similarly make use of their knowledge states to assert and maintain their participation status. In the case of an unacknowledged recipient, showing one's self to be a knowing recipient (i.e. knowledgeable in some way about the talk-in-progress) can make an effective claim on speaker attention and can provide recipients, like speakers, with a resource for reshaping the trajectory of an interaction.

“R”, THE UNACKNOWLEDGED RECIPIENT

In the following segment of talk, three women are sitting around a table waiting for a fourth to join them so they can continue their game of Pictionary. Arian, who initiates and proceeds to tell a story, orients to Tee as her primary recipient. A third participant, Rose, displays herself as a recipient to Arian's story, but is mostly unnoticed by Arian. The transcript below shows Rose, more than Tee, vocalizing her attention to the story, but it is evident through Arian's body behaviors and use of particular lexical items that she is addressing Tee.

Example 1 [Game Night 1]

- 1 A: =did I tell you that I met another recovering M-A-S-N volunteer:r this wee:k?
- 2 I actually (.) knew him but I didn't know that he was a recovering M-A-S-N
- 3 volunteer. .hh 'I go (sh) someho:w,° (.) I don't even remember how I—O:h
- 4 that some one, (0.2) °ok° this is a guy who's organizing queery? which is
- 5 this [new radio show
- 6 R: [hmm hmm
- 7 A: on WORDS= ((radio station name))

- 8 R: =hm[m hhm
 9 A: [okay
 10 A: which I have started sort of (.) talking to them about.
 11 And we were talking about (.) ide:as fo:r (1.0) for repo:rts,
 12 and one of them (.) somebody had brought up talking to
 13 Mary Ann Rodriguez apparently she 's a very spiritual person with a lot of
 14 spirituality and stuff like this .hh=
 15 R: =M-A?
 16 A: hhm?
 17 T: mm:h[m:
 18 R: [Is that M-A?
 19 A: m:m.

Given that Arian is directing her story to Tee, and Rose shows herself to be attending to the story, how does Rose, an unaddressed participant in this segment of talk, constitute herself as a recipient of it?

Prior to the segment of talk presented here, Rose has asked Arian and Tee how they know each other, and in overlap they explain that they met through an organization called "MASN" (Midwest Aid's Services Network). The mention of the organization touches off a story by Arian about how she came to meet someone whom she calls "another recovering MASN volunteer". In initiating and telling the story, Arian uses eye gaze, body movement, intonation, and lexical design to frame certain story elements as recognizable to Tee, in effect invoking the knowledge and experience that she shares with Tee as a warrant for Tee's attention to her talk. My analysis will focus on how Rose, in the context of Arian addressing her talk to Tee, displays herself as a recipient to that talk and attempts to elicit Arian's attention through a series of upgraded responses to Arian's actions that range from gaze shift toward Arian, to displays of knowledge of particular components of the story-in-progress.

A PARTICIPATION FRAMEWORK

Arian's actions in this segment of talk shape a participation framework in which Tee becomes an addressed recipient and Rose becomes an overhearer of Arian's talk to Tee. Arian's utterance in line 1, "Did I tell you I met another recovering MASN volunteer this week?", incorporates elements of talk that invoke Tee's knowledge of MASN, and formulates a proposal to recount a story that relates to members of the organization. Arian's use of the word "another" ties the story initiation to the prior explanation of how she and Tee met, and links what she is proposing that Tee already knows, which is what a "recovering MASN volunteer" is, with what she is proposing that Tee does not know - the story about how she came to meet someone else who is a "recovering MASN volunteer". Arian uses Tee's knowledge of the organization, and their past experience with it, as a method of "interesting" Tee in the story, and thus warranting Tee's attention

to her talk. Arian's use of the phrase "Did I tell you..." locates Tee as someone whom she has had opportunities in the past to tell this story to (and so is confirming whether or not she has), in contrast with Rose, who Arian has just met that evening (cf. Lerner, 1996, on the use of "you" to address talk to a single recipient). The time marker "this week" formulates what Arian is about to say as newsworthy (Sacks, 1992: I: 15 [fall 1968]), but the knowable-to-T elements embedded in the utterance, and the design that indexes their on-going relationship, makes it news especially for Tee and not for Rose. Arian emphasizes this fact as she turns toward Tee just before she begins the utterance and then slaps the table, an action visible in the transcript of the participants' talk and gestures below (transcribed using Goodwins's transcription conventions, with some modifications):

Example 2 [Game Night 2]

((gazing at T))
 [((slaps table with hand)) ((moves gaze to middle of table))

I A: Did I [tell you that I met another Recovering MASN volunteer this week?

((turns gaze to A)) ((nods head no while moving gaze to middle of
 table))

T: ...X _____ , , , x x x x x x

((turns gaze to A))

R: ...X _____

When Arian turns toward Tee as she begins producing the utterance in line one, neither Tee nor Rose are looking at her (figure 1; participants are seated left to right: R, A, T). However, when Arian slaps the table with her hand at “tell you”, both Tee and Rose move their gaze to Arian (figure 2). Tee and Rose’s gaze shift toward Arian aligns them as recipients of Arian’s story, but as already mentioned, Arian does not align toward them as equal recipients of her talk, resulting in the problematic dynamic at issue in this paper: as Arian addresses her talk to Tee, flagging specific components of her talk as recognizable to Tee, she disattends Rose as someone for whom the story she is telling is relevant (a stance which Rose’s claims to recognizability in subsequent talk challenges).

Arian's partitioning of Tee and Rose into addressed and unaddressed recipients in line 1 is consequential for Tee and Rose's participation in the unfolding talk. As Arian turns toward Tee and produces the utterance, "Did I tell you I met another recovering MASN volunteer this week?" Tee, who has moved her gaze to Arian, shakes her head "no" and moves her gaze away from Arian and back to the center of the table. Arian also moves her gaze from Tee as she reaches completion of the utterance. While Arian and Tee maintain their gaze more-or-less in the

vicinity of the table, and Arian begins to tell the story she has proposed, Rose maintains a steady gaze toward Arian, and subordinates another activity she is engaged in—eating—to the activity of gazing, using her body behaviors to show that she is an attentive recipient of Arian's talk (figure 3).

At issue here is how an attentive recipient of current talk, in this case Rose, deals with the teller's disattention toward her as a recipient. Rose's gaze shift toward Arian, which displays her readiness to listen to Arian's story, is relevant, given that she is sitting at the table with Arian and Tee, and Arian has just proposed telling a story that was touched off by a question that she asked. However, with the shift in topic to the proposed story and Arian's corresponding gaze shift toward Tee, Rose's participation status becomes ambiguous. Arian, as speaker of an initiating action ("Did I tell you I met another recovering MASN volunteer this week?"), designates Tee the recipient of her talk. In so doing, she disattends Rose as an "entitled" recipient of that talk. Rose, however, maintains her gaze on Arian as Arian addresses her talk to Tee, constituting herself as a "recipient-in-waiting" of sorts, one who, as the story progresses, will seek to transform her participation status to recipient.

UPGRADED CLAIMS TO RECIPIENCY: CLAIMS TO RECOGNITION AND A REFERENCE CHECK

In this segment of talk, Rose first uses eye gaze to display her reciprocity to Arian's talk, but as Arian continues to address Tee, Rose also verbalizes her attention to the talk. In lines 5 and 7, Rose displays knowledge of components of Arian's talk with a recognition token and a continuer (both "hmm hmm's"), constituting herself as a *knowing* recipient with these utterances, and thus a recipient who is entitled to speaker addressing. Following is a gesture transcript of lines 4 through 8 which demonstrates the relevance of Rose's actions in the context of Arian's continued addressing of Tee:

Example 3 [Game Night 3]

((moves gaze to T))

. . X _____

4-5 A: °ok° (.) This is a guy (.) who's organizing queery? which is a [new radio show
((station name))

((moves gaze to A))

((affirmative
nods))

T: (looking at pencil) . . X _____ [x x x

((moves gaze to A))

6 R: (picking up chip) . . X _____ [hmm hmm _____

((moves gaze from T back to the middle of the table))

7 A: on WORDS=

((affirmative head nods, continues to gaze at A?))

T: __x__x__x

((continues to gaze at A))

R: _____

((continues to gaze at A))

8 R: hm[m hmm

((gazing at table))

9 A: [okay

Here, Arian again uses eye gaze and body positioning to designate Tee as her primary recipient as she begins an explanation of how she came to meet “another recovering MASN volunteer” (from line 1) with her utterance in line 4: “°ok° (.) This is a guy (.) who’s organizing queery?”. Arian redirects her eye gaze from the middle of the table back toward Tee (who along with Rose resumed gazing at Arian at the word “guy”) at the word “queery”, and produces the word with a rising, try-marked intonation. Arian then begins to explain what “queery” means, while gazing at Tee, (“which is a new radio show on WORDS”). It is Rose, however, who actively claims recognition of the item “queery” with “hmm hmm” in line 6, in overlap with Arian’s explanation, followed a moment later by small head nods from Tee. The “hmm hmm” that Rose produces here is notable: Rose produces “hmm hmm” before hearing the explanatory term “radio show” (visible in the transcript), in effect, claiming that she already knows what Arian is talking about. The utterance produced here is a recognition token made relevant by the questioning intonation Arian uses to produce the word “queery”, and Arian’s efforts to explicate the term. Arian, however, has produced the explication for Tee, a context established through her body behaviors as described above. After Arian concludes the explanation of “queery” in line 6, and reaches the possible completion of her turn, (at “on WORDS”), Rose issues another “hmm hmm” in line 8, this time as a continuer that claims understanding of the preceding explanation (warranted certainly by the early recognition she displays in line 6) and forgoes the opportunity to initiate repair.

Rose’s utterances in lines 6 and 8 appear to elicit a minimal response from Arian in the form of a hand gesture in line 10. As Arian continues her elaboration of “queery” in lines 9 and 10 with another relative clause explaining her relationship to what she has just explained is a “new radio show on WORDS”, Arian maintains her gaze to the center of the table, but opens her palm in a fleeting gesture toward Rose (figure 4):

Example 4

9 A: [okay

((gazing at table))

(((hand gesture)))

(((hand gesture)))

10 A:→ which [I have started sort of (.) [talking to them about.

((gazing at A, nodding head slightly))

T: _____x_____x_____x_____x_____x

((gazing at A))

R: _____

Rose's next recognitional actions display her to be a *knowing* and interested recipient of Arian's talk more strongly in lines 11 through 19. In lines 12 and 13, Arian's utterance of the name "Mary Ann Rodriguez" provides an occasion for Rose to display herself not only as someone who knows the person in question, but as someone who may be friends with her. In line 15, Rose produces the reference check, "M-A?":

Example 5

12 A: and one of them (.) somebody had brought up talking to

13 → Mary Ann Rodriguez apparently she's a very spiritual person with a lot of

14 spirituality and stuff like this .hh=

15 R: → =M-A?

The reference check that Rose performs here does more than just request confirmation of whom Arian is talking about. The action displays that Rose is possibly well-acquainted with a character in Arian's story, close enough to be on a nickname basis. As an initiating action, it has consequences for the talk that follows:

Example 6

12 and one of them (.) somebody had brought up talking to

13 Mary Ann Rodriguez apparently she's a very spiritual person with a lot of

14 spirituality and stuff like this .hh=

15 R: → =M-A?

16 A: → hmmm?

17 T: mm:h[m:

18 R: → [Is that M-A?

19 A: → m:m.

First, Arian appears not to understand what Rose has said. Arian turns toward Rose in line 16, raises her eyebrows, and utters a questioning "hmmm?" (figure 5).

In line 17, it is Tee who responds to Rose with "mh:hm". In overlap with Tee's confirmation, Rose recycles her question for Arian in line 18. She says, "Is that M-A?", to which Arian responds with "m:m" in line 19.

Rose's demonstrated acquaintanceship with a character of Arian's telling, formulated as an initiating action, not only elicits the attention of the speaker, but also elicits the attention of her designated recipient, Tee. This display of knowledge, and the format it takes, reshapes the structure of the interaction over the next few turns (specifically lines 15 through 19): Arian stops talking and turns to attend to Rose's inquiry, while Tee, who has been attending to Arian's talk, responds to Rose. Although Arian's response is minimal in line 19 (and she continues to address her talk to Tee in the lines that follow this segment), Rose's reference check effectively alters the structure of the talk-in-progress to accommodate her as a recipient of that talk over the course of those turns. Rose's displays of knowledge regarding Arian's talk, formatted as a reference check, is thus a resource for altering the current participation framework or, to use Goffman's term, the "footing" of the participants (Goffman, 1981).

CONCLUSION

In summary, Rose displays her reciprocity to Arian's story-for-Tee through a series of upgraded responses to that story that range from gaze shift toward A, to displays of knowledge of particular components of Arian's talk. Rose's use of a recognition token and a continuer in lines 6 and 8 resulted in a minimal acknowledgment by Arian of Rose's reciprocity in the form of a fleeting hand gesture. Rose's display of knowledge via a reference check, however, elicited a more overt response from Arian. Rose's display of knowledge, formatted as it was, effectively reshaped the interaction over the course of the next few turns to accommodate Rose as a recipient of the talk-in-progress. These examples serve to expand our notion of reciprocity to include a substantive dimension of *recipient proactivity*.

It is evident from the segment of talk presented here that not only do knowledge displays provide a resource for unaddressed participants to elicit speaker addressing, and warrant claims to ratified reciprocity, but also that recipient design is an accountable matter, one to which participants to talk-in-interaction visibly orient. That is to say, recipients hold speakers accountable for designing their talk to accommodate them as the type of recipients they are. In the segment of talk at issue here, Rose "knows" many of the things that Arian is talking about. Yet Arian designs her talk as if only Tee knows, using this imputed knowledge as a warrant for Tee's attention to her talk. She orients to this interactional asymmetry by making claims on speaker attention, using her knowledge of components of Arian's talk to formulate these claims. In other words, she holds Arian accountable for orienting to her as a *knowing* recipient, and thus a recipient for whom the current talk is relevant.



Figure 1

1 A: =did I...



Figure 2

1 A: ...tell you



Figure 3

Rose maintains her gaze on Arian and subordinates the activity of eating to the activity of gazing, comporting herself as an attentive recipient.



Figure 4

Arian makes a fleeting gesture toward Rose.



Figure 5

15 A: hhmm?

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Transforming Participation Frameworks in Multi-Party Mandarin Conversation: The Use of Discourse Particles and Body Behavior

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Within the framework of conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), this paper investigates how Mandarin speakers negotiate their participatory roles in multi-party conversation through the use of linguistic and non-linguistic resources. Specifically, the present paper focuses on two sequential contexts: (1) parties who have otherwise been playing a marginal role try to make themselves focal, and (2) others incorporate a previously not actively participating party.

Close examination of video- and audio-recorded naturally occurring ordinary conversation reveals that one of the linguistic resources recurrently employed in these two contexts is a turn-initial discourse particle plus an additional turn component. The data also show that different particle-plus-other component structures are regularly accompanied by different body movements, which seem to embody the speaker's orientation to the degree of disjunctiveness of what is going to be projected in the particle-prefaced turn and how it relates to the current organization of interaction and its topic.

INTRODUCTION

The organization of turn-taking is one of the most fundamental practices in conversation. Although the phenomenon of turn-taking is obvious, the distribution of turns to participants is by no means random or free. From a conversation-analytic perspective, the recurrent orderly transition from one speaker to another has been described as organized by a set of rules or practices with ordered options that operate on a turn-by-turn basis (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974).

Despite the practices that organize turn-taking, previous studies have shown that parties in conversation may not always have equal access to the domain of discourse. This is especially obvious in multi-party conversation where participants commonly display different levels of competence, expertise, and knowledge of the talk in progress through different use of gestures, intonation, word selection, and characterization of events (Goodwin, 1986; Schegloff, 1992). Nonetheless, as these studies have also shown, participation status and structure are not pre-determined; coparticipants in conversation may use available resources to actively negotiate and establish their standing vis-à-vis each other and help re-shape the structure of the talk.

Based on ten hours of video- and audio-recorded naturally occurring multi-party Mandarin conversation, the present project investigates how Mandarin speak-

ers negotiate their participatory roles through the use of linguistic and non-linguistic resources. More specifically, the present paper focuses on two sequential contexts: (1) parties who have otherwise been playing a marginal role try to make themselves focal, and (2) others incorporate a previously not actively participating party. These two contexts are similar in that in both contexts, coparticipants in conversation attempt to transform the participation framework in a way that a previously marginally involved party is able to move to a state of full engagement in the on-going talk.

In the following, I will first show one specific linguistic construction, i.e., a turn-initial discourse particle plus an additional turn component, and explicate how this construction can be exploited by parties in conversation to achieve the interactional goal of incorporating a marginally involved participant in the previously described sequential environments. I will then show different patternings of body movements regularly associated with different discourse particle-plus-other component structures, and demonstrate how such association seems to embody the speaker's orientation to and analysis of what he/she attempts to project subsequently vis-à-vis the current organization of interaction and its topic.

INTERACTIONAL USES OF DISCOURSE PARTICLES: THE TARGET LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTIONS

In Mandarin Chinese, there are a variety of particles, which may stand alone or occur before or after some kind of morphosyntactic units¹. These particles have been traditionally labeled as *zhu ci* "helping words", *yuqi ci* "mood words" (Li, 1955; Lü & Zhu, 1953; Wang, 1955), "sentence-final particles" (Li & Thompson, 1981), or "affective particles" (Hsu, 1996). As most of these terms suggest, these particles are essentially discourse-dependent: they often do not have a definite denotative or referential meaning, but are mainly used, among other things, to convey speaker's attitude, feeling, stance, and/or disposition in a discourse context.

Previous research into Mandarin particles has focused primarily on their semantic and/or pragmatic meanings (e.g. Chao, 1968; Li & Thompson, 1981; Alleton, 1981; Chu, 1984; King, 1986; Shi & Zhang, 1995). Yet, in the course of a larger study investigating the import and functions of various Mandarin discourse particles (Wu, 1997a, 1997b), it is found that these particles have interactional uses as well, and among other actions, are frequently exploited by parties in conversation to transform the participation framework for the on-going talk. This specific use of discourse particles typically takes the form of a particle-plus-other component structure, with the particle in the turn-initial position, as illustrated by the arrowed turns in the following two examples.

(i) (Tea Time A057)

11W: jiao wo jiao- [%sunny% huo jiao %shiny%
call me call sunny or call shiny

W: *call me- [%Sunny% or call me %Shiny%.*

12H: → [ei, jinniuzuo de ren, shi bu shi, dongzuo bijiao man
PRT Taurus ASSC person be N be movement relatively slow

H: [*ei, Is it true that people born under Taurus usually do things*
[[*slower?*

13W: [(two coughs)

(ii) (CS Party 057A)

12 (1.0)

13H: → a? ni yao mai lai hui.
PRT you ASP buy round:trip
a? **You'll buy a round-trip (ticket)?**

14L: dui a. na %eventually% ni hai shi hui yong dao a.
right PRT that eventually you still be ASP use RES PRT
(That's) **right. You'll still %eventually% need that.**

As I will show in the following discussion, although the use of this type of turn design can figure in the integration of marginally involved participants in multi-party conversation, this action is regularly accomplished differently in *ei*-prefaced and *a*-prefaced turns. In the former, the particle *ei*, which is an “interruption marker” (Wu, 1997b), usually prefaced an utterance that launches a “unilateral topic shift” (Heritage, forthcoming) and projects recipient commitment to further talk by reference to the proposed new topical point. In the latter, the particle, *a*², is used in the speaker's attempt to further pursue or question what has been brought up in the earlier talk (Wu, *ibid.*); it regularly prefaced a question which prompts further on-topic talk with reference to the proposed question/problem.

INCORPORATING A PREVIOUSLY MARGINALLY INVOLVED PARTY

Fragments (1) and (2) exemplify cases in which a particle-prefaced turn is used to involve a previously inactive participant. These two excerpts are taken from a six-party conversation among a group of friends/colleagues¹, recorded in Taiwan. In this conversation, one of the participants, R, who was tape-recording this occasion, appeared to limit her participation from time to time by maintaining the role of an observer/overhearer. Such peripheral participation from R, when it lasted too long, would normally be noted and be attended to by the other coparticipants. During those moments, one of the practices that the other coparticipants recurrently deployed to re-engage her in the talk is the use of an *ei*-

10L: zhe: xie ren yuanlai jianghua [(.....)
 these people turn:out speak
So these people all speak [(.....

11H [(cough)

12S ha! (zhe zhong ren. [..)
 PRT this type people
Ha! (These people [..)

13H: [keshi ta yiding hui- zuihou yao gaosu
 but she definitely ASP finally have:to tell

14 women ta yao yanjiu shenme. yao:bu:ran women juegui [bu neng- fang
 we she ASP research what otherwise we definitely N can release
 ta hui qu.
 she return DIR

*[But she definitely will- In the end she has to tell us
 what she wants to research on. Otherwise, we definitely will not [let her go.*

15R [hhhhh
 (laugh)
[hhhhhh

16 (people laugh)

Note that throughout the clarifying sequence (lines 1-6) (and the immediately previous one), R has not participated in the talk. In line 8, one of the coparticipants, L, disengages herself from the on-going conversational cluster and attempts to incorporate R in the conversation through an *ei*-prefaced turn. Note also that this *ei*-prefaced utterance not only receives a response from the recipient (line 9) but also transforms the topic of the talk in progress (lines 10-16).

In addition to the particle *ei*, another particle, *a*, is also frequently employed to incorporate a peripheral conversational coparticipant. Example (2) is a case in point. This example occurs at the end of a story-telling sequence, in which one of the coparticipants, W, is describing her culture shock experiences in the US.

(2) (Tea Time: sb085)

1W: chi wan- ba dian duo de feiji ye.
 eat RES eight o'clock over ASSC airplane PRT
When they finished (the dinner), (they went off) on an eight-something flight!

2W: ba dian sishi de feiji ye. jiu dengyu shuo chi wan fan
 eight o'clock forty ASSC airplane PRT then equal say eat RES meal

jiu zou ren.
then leave person

Eighty-four flight! That is to say, they took off right after the meal.

3W: ranhou duibuqi, duibuqi. yao zou le.
then sorry sorry ASP leave CRS
And then "Sorry, sorry, we gotta go."

4L: hhhh
(laugh)
hhhh

5H: a rujun lei. nimen- zai nabian dou gen: (0.8) nimen nabian zhongguo
PRT Rujun PRT you at there all with you there Chinese

6H: ren hen duo ma.
people very many Q
→ *a How about Rujun? You- with whom over there (0.8) Are there a lot of Chinese people?*

7R: taiwan ren duo.
Taiwan people many
A lot of people from Taiwan.

8 (further talk about R's life in the US)

The *a*-prefaced turn in line 5 is deployed by another coparticipant, H, to invite R to join in the conversation after R's long lack of involvement in this sequence and succeeds in projecting further talk from R by reference to the proposed question.

As examples (1) and (2) show, both the *ei*-prefaced utterance and the *a*-prefaced utterance can be used to incorporate a marginally involved party, however, this is also typically made possible by different actions accomplished in both of these particle-prefaced turns. On the one hand, the *a*-prefaced utterance attempts to provide an opportunity for the marginally involved participant to generate further on-topic talk (i.e., the talk about life in the US). On the other, the *ei*-prefaced utterance is topically more disjunctive; it does not *continue* the talk on the general topic of the immediately preceding sequence, i.e., critical of fellow teachers, but rather initiates a topic shift by talking *about* that topic, i.e., making relevant the import/consequence of their criticizing fellow teachers in the prior sequence.

Note also that the different degrees of abruptness involved in the initiation of the turns prefaced with *a* and *ei* are also reflected in the ways in which they are launched relative to the turn currently in progress: While the *a*-prefaced utterance is produced at a turn-transition relevance space and after the completion of the telling, the *ei*-prefaced utterance is initiated in overlap with the prior utterance, while the other coparticipants are still engaged in the prior talk.

The differences between the turns prefaced with *a* and *ei*, as illustrated in examples (1) and (2), are by no means idiosyncratic. These differences also hold true when peripheral coparticipants try to make themselves focal through the use of a particle-prefaced turn, as will be discussed in the next section.

PERIPHERAL COPARTICIPANTS MAKING THEMSELVES FOCAL

Examples (3) and (4) below demonstrate another context where the *a*-prefaced and *ei*-prefaced turns are used to integrate marginally involved participants. In these two examples, the particle-prefaced turns are used by marginally involved participants to make themselves focal in the current organization of interaction.

Example (3) is taken from the same multi-party conversation as examples (1) and (2). The targeted particle-prefaced turn is found in line 12. Immediately preceding this excerpt are two on-going conversational clusters, where H, L, S were involved in one conversation and W, R and F were involved in another. Without going into much detail about that schisming sequence, suffice it to note that after the schisming resolves in line 8, W starts to tell a story about how she got her English name, "Gloria". In line 10, she quickly directs her eye gaze to L when she introduces her astrological sign (i.e. *I am a Taurus*); she then returns her eye gaze to the previous interlocutor, F, when she follows up with an account of how her astrological sign is relevant to her selection of the English name (i.e. *so my name has to mean something shiny*.)

(3) (Tea Time)

(1.5)

(H turns to L; L then directs eye gaze to H and smiles)

5 H: (.....)

6 (*L redirects eye gaze to W; H puts her hand under her jaw.)

7 (*H directs eye gaze to W)

3W: wode mingzi jiao %gloria%.
my name call Gloria
My English name is %Gloria%.

4 a tamen jiu wen wo shuo (ci?)
PRT they then ask I say PRT
And then they asked me,

5 weishenme nide mingzi jiao %gloria%.
why your name call Gloria
*Why are you called %*Gloria?%*

6 wo shuo yinwei zhe ge *hou,
I say because this M PRT
I said this is (because...)

7 wo jiu gen tamen *jiang yi ge gushi.=
I then with them speak one M story
Then I told them a story.

(W does some gesturing then looks at F)

8W: =wo shuo yinwei you yi tian wo qu fan na ge- (.) na ge xingzuo de
I say because have one day I go turn that M that M astrology ASSC

shu. hou

book PRT

=I said because one day I went to read an- (.) an astrology book, you know,

9F: hen.
PRT
hen.

(W turns gaze to L) (W turns gaze to F)

10W: wo shi jinniuzuo. suoyi wode mingzi yao hen shanliang de.
I be Taurus so my name need very shining NOM
I am a Taurus. So my name has to mean something shiny.

Up to this point, another coparticipant, H, who had actively participated in the immediately preceding sequence did not receive any direct attention from the current speaker. In line 12 below, she launches an *ei*-prefaced turn (i.e. *ei, Is it true that Taurus usually do things slower?*), which is produced in overlap with, and disrupts, W's telling in line 11 (i.e. *I said they should call me Sunny or Shiny.*).

11W: wo shuo tamen yao jiao wo jiao- [sunny huò jiao shìny
I say they should call me call sunny or call shiny
I said they should call me- [Sunny or call me Shiny.

(*W turns gaze to H*)

(H puts down her right hand, and raises her left hand to point at W, and then rests her chin on her left hand)

12H: [ei, jinniuzuo de ren, shi bu shi,
PRT Taurus ASSC person be N be

13H: dongzuo bijiao [[man.
 movement relatively slow

→ [ei, Is it true that people born under Taurus=

H: =usually do things [[slower?

14W: [(2 coughs)

(H puts her hand over her eyes and buries her head in her arms)

$$15 \quad \left[\frac{\quad}{(0.8)} \right]$$

16F?: [zhende ma. hhh
really Q
/Really? hhhh

(*W still stares at H*)

17W: [wo bu zhidao ei.
I N know PRT
I don't know.

(*W lowers her head ; H raises her head, smiling*)

18 [_____] (0.3)

(*Lateral head shakes from W; W starts to write*)

19W: [_____] wo bu zhidao.
I N know
I don't know.

20R: jinniu shi ji yue de.
Taurus be which month NOM
Which month is Taurus?

21?: heng?
heng
Heng?

22W: siyue
April
April

(*Slight lateral head shakes from H*)

23H: [_____] bu shi sikao man nei.
N be thinking slower PRT
(I don't mean they) think slower.

24?: hai shi wuyue |
or be May | (*W raises head*)
Or May? |

25? |
siyue. |
April |
April

(*Slight lateral head shakes from H; W looks at L*) (*H turns gaze to L*) (*W tilts head*)

26L: [_____] [_____] [_____] na ni gen- chen shi yiyang de (...%kuang:: ga ei ha -hamang%
then you with Chen be same ASSC look will irritating
Then you have the same sign as Chen's (..) who %looks so::: ir- irritating.%

(*W nods, lowers her head, and then starts to write*)

27W: [_____] tch!
tch
tch!

28 (.)

(S turns gaze to L; L turns gaze to S)

[_____]
 29S: tongyang you gexing.
 same have character
(Both) are quite strong-willed.

30W: zhende.
 true
True.

Note that even though H buries her head in her arms after she finishes her question (i.e. line 15), the use of this *ei*-prefaced question *does* generate responses from W in lines 17 and 19 (i.e. *I don't know.*) It also succeeds in transforming the topic of the on-going talk, shifting the topic away from how W got her English name to subsequent discussions about this astrological sign (lines 20-25) and the disposition of people born under it (lines 26-30).

Example (4) demonstrates how an *a*-prefaced turn can also be used to serve the same interactional function. This fragment is taken from a seven-party conversation among a group of friends, recorded in the US. The *a*-prefaced turn (line 13) occurs at the possible completion of an argument sequence (lines 1-11), which is shown below.

(4) (CS Party 057A)

1X: jushuo hua hang hen pianyi a.
 I:heard China Airlines very cheap PRT
(I heard) that China Airlines is very cheap.

2 (.)
 3C: [(tamen geng) pianyi.
 they more cheap
[(They are) cheaper.

4W: [bu hui ba. hua hang hai shi hen gui a.
 N ASP PRT China Airlines still be very expensive PRT
[Not likely. China Airlines is still very expensive.

5X: jushuo xianzai yijing bijiao pianyi le a.
 I:heard now already relatively cheap CRS PRT
I heard (it's) cheaper now.

6 (1.5)

7X: [keshi yao renshou shenming- renshou shenming de weixian.
 but need tolerate life tolerate life ASSC risk
[But (you) need to tolerate the danger to your life.

(Directing eye gaze to L)

[_____]

8W: [keneng yao liu bai duo ba. (...) dan cheng (...)
probably need six hundred more PRT one:way
[(It'll) probably cost more than six hundred. (...) one way (...)]

9L: wo yao mai lai hui de a.
I ASP buy round:trip NOM PRT
I'll buy- a round trip ticket.

10W: ou.
PRT
Oh.

11L: lai hui bijiao pianyi a.
round:trip relatively cheap PRT
Round-trip tickets are cheaper.

In this sequence, three coparticipants (i.e. W, C, and X) are involved in an argument about the fares to Taiwan. In line 8, W starts to disengage himself from that argument by gazing towards another coparticipant, L, and doing an informing for him. This informing nonetheless displays a problematic understanding of L's intention, who plans to purchase a round-trip ticket rather than a one-way ticket even though he will be moving back to Taiwan permanently. In line 9, L first makes a clarification that he will buy a round-trip ticket. He then volunteers an account for it in line 11 (i.e. *Round-trip tickets are cheaper.*).

It needs to be pointed out that throughout this sequence, one of the coparticipants, H, has been focusing on the food only, without even having any eye contact with the other parties. Yet, after the (1.0) second of gap (line 12), he looks up towards the prior speaker, L, and launches an *a*-prefaced turn (*a? You'll buy a round-trip ticket?*).

(H pulls out his right hand to pick up some food)

[_____]

12 (1.0)

(H looks up towards L and then freezes his posture)

[_____]

13H: → a? ni yao mai lai hui.
PRT you ASP buy round:trip
a? You'll buy a round-trip (ticket)?

(L gazes at H) (H drops eye gaze and starts to get some food)

[_____]

14L: dui a. na eventually ni hai shi hui yong dao a.
right PRT that eventually you still be ASP use RES PRT
(That's) right. You'll still eventually need that.

- 15H: danshi ta na ge bu shi hui expire ma. shuo ji ge- duojiu mei yong jiu
 but it that M N be ASP expire Q say several M how:long N use then
- 16H: [hui expire.=
 ASP expire
- 17X: [dui a.=
 right PRT
- H: *But isn't that it will expire? (If you) don't use it in several- for some time, it*
 H *[will then expire.=*
 X: *[(That's) right.=*
- 18L: =[[dui a.
 right PRT
 =[[(That's) right.

Like the *ei*-prefaced turn in example (3), this *a*-prefaced question obtains the recipient's eye gaze and responses (i.e., *That's right. You'll still eventually need that.*) and helps establish the recipient, H, as a focal, 'official' interlocutor in the conversation.

Despite the common job the *ei*-prefaced and the *a*-prefaced turns perform in examples (3) and (4) (i.e. making a peripheral participant focal), the movement from peripheral to central involvement is accomplished by these two particle-prefaced turns in many different ways.

First, the *a*-prefaced turn (line 13) in example (4), like the one in example (2) (i.e., *a How about Rujen?*) is related topically to the prior sequence. In fact, a closer look at this excerpt shows that this *a*-prefaced turn contains a repeat of the prior speaker's utterance in line 9 (i.e. *I'll buy a round-trip ticket.*), which was used to address another interlocutor, W. In this regard, this *a*-prefaced turn, which is skillfully designed to retrieve an utterance previously directed to someone else to further pursue it, is exploited as a resource by an *overhearer* in the conversation to launch a turn⁷.

On the other hand, the *ei*-prefaced turn (line 12) in fragment (3), like that in fragment (1), is used to initiate a unilateral topic shift. Namely, the speaker of the *ei*-prefaced utterance manages a topic shift by taking up a bit of information contained in what the prior speaker has said in the prior turn (i.e., the astrological sign of Taurus), which was nonetheless *not* the focus of that talk; this speaker then topicalizes this information through a question, shifting the topic away from how W got her English name, which is related to her astrological sign, to a discussion of the properties associated with this sign.

Like those in fragments (1) and (2), the *a*-prefaced and *ei*-prefaced turns in fragments (3) and (4) also differ in the ways in which they are launched relative to the turn currently in progress. While the *ei*-prefaced question is produced before the story was brought to a possible completion, the *a*-prefaced question is

duced after the immediately preceding sequence comes to a possible completion point.

DIFFERENT PATTERNINGS OF BODY MOVEMENTS ACCOMPANYING TURNS PREFACED WITH *A* AND *EI*

In addition to the differences in how they relate to the current organization of interaction and its topic, the *ei*-prefaced and the *a*-prefaced turns are also associated with differences in the accompanying body movements. In the data corpus, overwhelmingly, the speaker of an *ei*-prefaced turn directs eye gaze towards the intended recipient *and* deploys some pointing/selecting gestures at the selected party; on the other hand, the speaker of an *a*-prefaced turn directs eye gaze to the intended recipient but does not display any types of gestures. These differences in the body movements can be illustrated by the four frame grabs of the particle-prefaced turns in examples (1)-(4)* (see end of this article).

It is important to discuss a number of issues implicated in the use of turn-initial particles and the different body movements regularly associated with them.

First, people frequently note that hand gestures can be used to secure eye gaze from anyone within the visual range, including the targeted recipient. Along this line, one might think that the use of hand gestures in an *ei*-prefaced turn is motivated by the speaker's attempt to draw the attention of other coparticipant(s) and thereby incorporate himself/herself in the conversation. This, however, does not seem to give a satisfactory account of what has been demonstrated above.

Recall that both *a*-prefaced and *ei*-prefaced turns are used successfully to incorporate a marginally involved participant and that both *a*-prefaced and *ei*-prefaced turns successfully help a marginally involved participant to become more involved. In other words, some *ei*-prefaced turns are by speakers who are not marginal and require no special attention getting help, and some *a*-prefaced turns are by speakers who *are* marginal. Clearly the choice between *a* and *ei* and the decision to use a hand gesture or not cannot be fully explained by the speaker's motivation to attract attention and to join in the conversation since both particles are used successfully to accomplish such actions. This is further supported by the evidence that the pointing gestures in examples (1) and (3) both occur fairly late in the turn⁹. In addition, the video data also shows that in example (3) the targeted recipient starts to attend to the speaker even before she has a chance to see the pointing gesture.

In so far as the hand gesture is regularly associated only with the turns which are topically and turn-takingly more disjunctive (i.e. the *ei*-prefaced turns), the data suggest that the use and non-use of hand gestures seem to embody the speaker's analysis of what he/she is about to project vis-à-vis the on-going talk, i.e., the degree of disjunctiveness of a particle-prefaced turn in relation to the topic and interaction of the on-going talk.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this paper demonstrates how the Mandarin discourse particles can be exploited as interactional resources in multi-party conversation. It also demonstrates how these particles are frequently used in conjunction with other non-vocal resources, such as eye gaze and hand gestures, in the speaker's attempt to transform the organization of interaction and its current topic. To recapitulate some of the important points in the present paper:

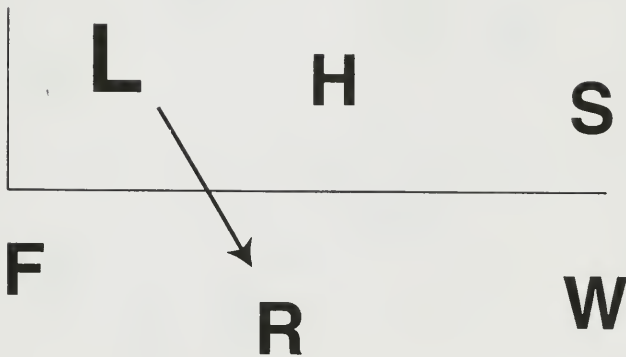
1. Turn-initial particles are found to be exploited as important interactional resources by Mandarin speakers to reshape the participation framework for a multi-party conversation. Turns prefaced with these particles are frequently used to move a party (i.e. either another coparticipant or the speaker himself/herself) from a state of marginal engagement to full engagement.
2. Both *a*-prefaced and *ei*-prefaced turns are used successfully to incorporate a marginally involved party (i.e., examples (1) & (2)); both *a*-prefaced and *ei*-prefaced turns are used successfully by the marginally involved party to incorporate himself/herself (i.e., examples (3) & (4)).
3. Turns prefaced with *a* and *ei* differ in the ways in which they are occasioned topically and turn-takingly, with those prefaced with *ei* usually being more disjunctive.
4. Turns prefaced with *a* and *ei* are also accompanied by different patternings of body movements, with *ei*-prefaced turns typically used in conjunction with a pointing/selecting gesture. The different body movements seem to embody the speaker's analysis of the degree of disjunctiveness of what is going to be projected in the particle-prefaced turn and how it relates to the on-going talk.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

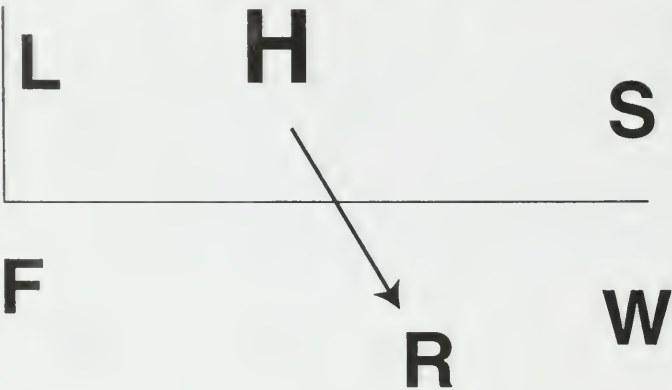
I would like to thank Emanuel Schegloff for his insight and guidance which helped me formulate many of the major points of this paper. I am also grateful to Charles Goodwin, Marjorie Goodwin, John Heritage, and Sandra Thompson for their helpful comments on earlier drafts or presentations of this paper. My thanks also to Sheau-Yih Chen, Kathy Howard, Adrienne Lo, David Olsher, and Susan Strauss for their help with my presentation of this paper at the 1997 CLIC conference, and to *IAL*'s editors, Tanya Stivers, Anna Guthrie, and, especially, Geoff Raymond for their suggestions and help as I began to prepare this paper for publication. I will take full responsibility for any problems which still exist.

Example (1): Incorporating a marginal party

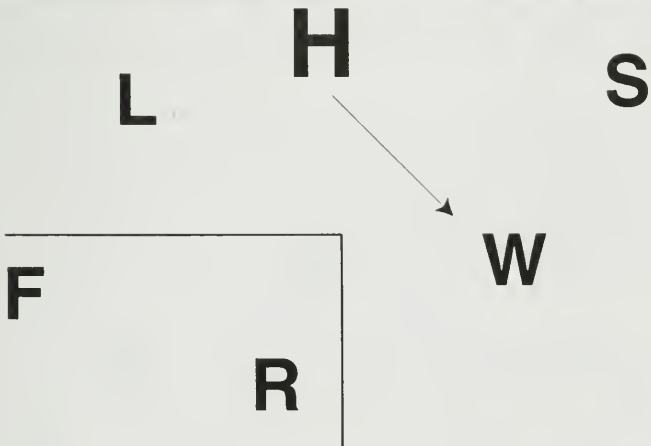
"ei, I hope when you go back to study the data you won't just find us criticizing others."



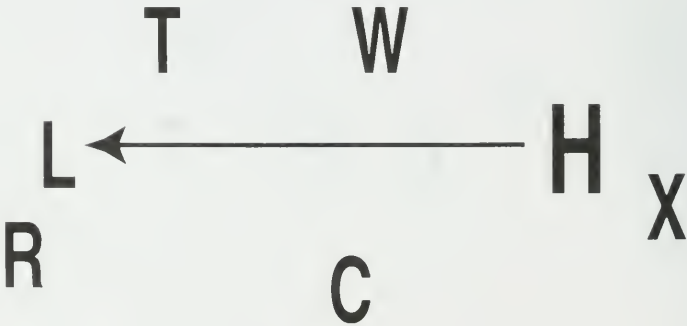
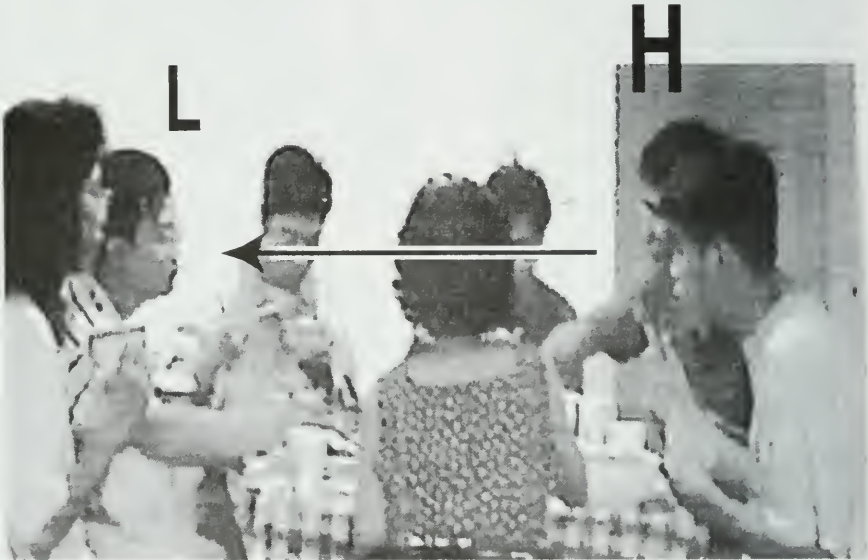
Example (2): Incorporating a marginal party
"a How about Ruijen?"



Example (3): Peripheral party making herself focal
"ei, is it true that Taurus usually do things slower?"



Example (4): Peripheral party making himself focal
"a? You'll buy a round-trip ticket?"



APPENDICES

1. Transcription Conventions

The following conventions are used in the transcripts appearing in the present paper. These conventions are following Jefferson (1984), with slight modifications.

Overlapping talk

- [A left bracket indicates the point at which a current speaker's utterance is overlapped by the talk of another, which appears on the next line attributed to another speaker. If there is more than one left bracket in an utterance, then the second indicates where a second overlaps begins. Both the utterance which is overlapped and the utterance which overlaps are indicated by this symbol.
- [[In cases where confusion may arise due to high frequency of overlap among conversation coparticipants, a double left bracket will be used to resolve the possible confusion. In addition to the use of a left bracket or a double left bracket, the first lines (i.e. the romanization) for each of the overlapping utterances are aligned with each other.

Silence

- (0.5) Numbers in parentheses indicate silence, represented in tenths of a second.
- (.) A dot in parentheses indicates a "micropause".

Code-switching

- %ni m zai ou% utterance which is produced in languages other than Mandarin Chinese, such as English or Taiwanese.

Various aspects of speech delivery

- :: Colons are used to indicate the prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them. The more colons, the longer the stretching.
- Underlining is used to indicate some form of stress or emphasis.
- : Combinations of underlining and colons are used to indicate intonation contours.
- A hyphen after a word or part of a word indicates a cut-off or self-interruption.
- °hhh Hearable aspiration.
- < To mark the onset where a stretch of talk is markedly rushed or compressed.
- > To mark the onset where a stretch of talk is markedly slowed.
- = Equal signs are used to mark that (1) there is no interval between adjacent utterances by different speakers, the second being latched immediately to the first, and (2) different parts of a single speaker's utterance constitute a continuous flow of speech although they have been carried over to another line, by transcript design, to accommodate an intervening interruption.
- ± To mark rising and falling shifts in intonation.
- ° ° To indicate a passage of talk which is quieter than the surrounding talk
- () To show the transcriptionist's doubt on some hearing
- > To specify the target of focus in the transcription
- >> To specify THE target of focus in cases where an arrow sign has already been deployed to direct readers' attention to some turn structure in facilitating interpreting some overall sequential contexts.
- (()) To capture various non-verbal activities in interaction

2. Glossing Conventions

ASSC	Associative (- <i>de</i>)
ASP	Aspectual marker
AUX	Auxiliary
CRS	Currently relevant state (<i>le</i>)
CSC	Complex stative construction
DIR	Directional complement
M	Measure word
N	Negator
NOM	Nominalizer (<i>de</i>)
PRT	Sentential Particle
PREP	Preposition]
PRV	Perfective (- <i>le</i>)
POSS	Possession
Q	Question marker
RES	Resultative complement

NOTES

¹Such morphosyntactic units may range from a lexical item, such as *lai a* "come *a*", *wo a* "I *a*" (Chao, 1968, 803), a phrase, such as *ta de hua a* "his words *a*" (Chao, *ibid.*, 806), to a sentence, such as *wo bing mei zuo cuo a*. "I didn't do anything wrong *a*." (Chao, *ibid.*, 805).

Chao (*ibid.*) distinguishes particles from interjections, suggesting that while particles are always unstressed and are attached to the phrases and sentences which precede them, interjections are usually stressed, delivered with a variety of intonational patterns, and always stand on their own (*ibid.* 795, 815). He nonetheless points out that although most interjections are not particles, and vice versa, there are a few cases of class overlap. The present study will not distinguish particles and interjections, and will use "discourse particles" or "particles" to refer to this class of words.

²A separate study (Wu, 1997b) shows that there are two types of prosodically different turn-initial *a* found in the data corpus, with each of them used in different contexts. The *a* with a separate intonation contour is commonly used in the service of the speaker's attempt to respond to a perceived problem in the prior talk; the *a* which is done in the same intonation contour with the following utterance is often used when a speaker is trying to bring up/resume some earlier topic after a digression or after a lull in conversation.

³When the data was collected, S, L, F, H were teaching at a high school in Taiwan; W and R, their former colleagues, were on a short vacation home from the US, where they were studying.

⁴Several changes have been made to the person and the place reference in the data in order to protect the participants' anonymity.

⁵ This is the name of the school where S, L, F, H were teaching.

⁶*Ni* ('you') here is used in a specific way and is used to refer to the speaker himself. (Biq, 1991; Wu, 1994)

⁷I am indebted to Emanuel Schegloff for drawing my attention to this.

⁸I thank Charles Goodwin and Anna Guthrie for their help with these frame grabs

⁹ In example (1), the speaker of the *ei*-prefaced turn displays a pointing gesture when she produces *yanjiu* ('research'/'study'), as demonstrated below:

8L: [ei, ni bu yao hui,
PRT you N ASP return

(Displaying a pointing gesture)

[_____]
qu yanjiu jieguo women dou ting dao women zai piping renjia.
DIR research consequently we all hear RES we ASP criticize others
[ei, (I hope) when
you go back to study (the data), you won't just find us criticizing others.

In example (3), the speaker launches a series of body movements in producing the *ei*-prefaced turn. The pointing gesture occurs when the speaker produces the syllable of *zuo* in *jinniuzuo* ('Taurus'):

(H raises her left hand to point at W)

(W turns gaze to H)

(H puts down her right hand)

12H: [ei, jinniuzuo de ren, shi bu shi, dongzuo
PRT Taurus ASSC person be N be movement

13H: bijiao [[man.
relatively slow

H: [ei, Is it true that people born under Taurus=
=usually do things [[slower?

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Instruction Receipt in Face-to-Face Interaction

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This paper investigates the role of gesture in instruction giving and in instruction receiving during a cooking lesson. Gestures and embodied actions are not entirely a speaker's phenomenon but are oriented to and also used by listeners as well. We will focus primarily on the recipient and his/her orientation to verbal and embodied instruction giving.

Instructions are broken down into smaller sequences (Wright & Hull, 1990). This paper analyzes three relevant next actions which can follow the instruct turn: (1) embodied instruct receipt tokens (head nod); (2) embodied repetition of the embodied instruct; and (3) repair.

In general, an embodied action can be coined as an "embodied instruct". And once understood as such by all participants, it is available to all participants in subsequent sequences. Thus an embodied gesture can "travel" from one participant to another.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we will focus on an instructional setting, namely, a two-hour long cooking lesson. There are three interactants: one English monolingual, one English-Persian bilingual and one Persian monolingual. We will show that in this instructional setting, gestures are not only a speaker's phenomenon as described by Schegloff (1984) but are also used by the listeners. Moreover, we will show that if one gesture has been coined as an iconic gesture in its context of interaction, it is available to the other coparticipants in subsequent talk and, it can be used by other participants. We also found that embodied actions can be used in order to display or claim understanding of instructions, or they can be used in order to specify a trouble source in repair.

When giving instructions, speakers usually divide the entire task into smaller steps. These steps are then sequenced according to the temporal order in which a coparticipant is to carry them out (Wright & Hull, 1990). In her research on the delivery and receipt of instructions given over the telephone, Goldberg (1975) found that each instructional sequence consists of an *instruct* and *receipt* pair. For the receipt turns, she was able to define a variety of types. In our videotaped face-to-face interaction we found slightly different categories than the ones established by Goldberg. This comes as no surprise since face-to-face interaction is different

from telephone interaction in that the participants have visual access to each other and their actions. Furthermore, because of the possibility of simultaneous actions and because of access to visual elements, "projection of a possible next" does not only take the form of projecting the next (verbal) turn but can also take the form of projecting the next *non-verbal action*. This is especially important for our setting: While not all participants share the same languages and thus do not have access to each other's verbal messages, they all have access to the ongoing activity (cooking) as well as each other's gestures. This visual information is used by the interactants to project possible next verbal or non-verbal actions.

In this article we will focus only on those categories that have at their core embodied actions, that is those instruct turns which are followed by verbal embodied receipt tokens, embodied repetition of the embodied instruct, and verbal repair initiation combined with gestures.

EMBODIED INSTRUCT RECEIPT TOKEN

Often, after a speaker has uttered an instruct turn, the coparticipant produces an instruct receipt token (Goldberg, 1975; Schegloff, 1982; Jefferson, 1984; Goodwin, 1986; Condon, 1986; Beach, 1993) such as *okay*, *mm hm* or *alright*. There are also embodied instruct receipt tokens such as head nods with which the recipient acknowledges and claims understanding of the instruct-turn, thus bringing the sequence to closure. Following the recipient's head nod, the instructor or the translator starts a next instruct turn. Thus, the instructor or translator orients to the head nod the same way she orients to a vocal receipt token. In segment 1, Andy nods his head (line 6) following Miriam's instruct turn.

Segment 1:

Embodied instruct receipt token: Head nod

1 D: in bargo bâyad beshoreh âroom âroom bâz bekon keh pâreh
he has to wash this leaf slowly slowly open so it won't

2 D: nasheh
tear

3 (0.8)

4 D: [bebin indjoori
[see like this
[

5 M: [you have to-wash those leaves,

A nods

—|—
| |

6 →



(0.2)

7 M: and separate them very slowly

Head nods can also co-occur with verbal receipt tokens. In our data we found that the choice of the verbal receipt token (either *okay* or *mm hm*) seems to depend on the intonation contour of the instruct turn. *Mm hm* occurs after continuing intonation and *okay* occurs after terminal intonation of the instruct turn. Head nods are not sensitive to this distinction. They can occur with both types of verbal receipt tokens as the following segment shows. In the literature of such tokens the interaction between intonation and the choice of verbal token has not been studied before. Further research needs to be conducted to investigate whether this relation is a general phenomenon or specific to our data.

Segment 2:

Instruct receipt tokens: Head nods in combination with verbal tokens

- 1 M: >^ookay< u-she lets it b:-boil, and cook a little
- 2 bit. its-should be well done,
- A nods*
- 
- 3 → A: [°mhm°
- [
- 4 M: [it should just be cooked when you're (0.5) yeah test
- 5 it and then u::h you have to let rice to boil and be
- 6 half cooked.
- 7 (0.5)
- 8 M: and then you drain it,
- 9 (0.5)
- 10 M: and add it to the meat.
- A nods*
- 
- 11 → A: okay

In lines 1 and 2 as well as in line 10, Miriam utters instruct turns. In line 2, the instruct turn has continuing intonation, and Andy produces the receipt token *mhm*. This receipt token is accompanied by an embodied receipt token, i.e. a head,

nod. In line 10, Miriam's instruct turn is uttered with terminal intonation, and Andy produces the instruct receipt token *okay*. This *okay* is accompanied by a head nod. This data segment displays nicely, that head nods are not sensitive to the intonation contour of the instruct turn.

In general, we have seen from the last two segments that head nods can either stand alone or they can accompany *mhms* and *okays*. In all cases this turn completes the instruct-receipt sequence and speakers move on to the next action.





EMBODIED REPETITIONS OF THE EMBODIED INSTRUCTS

We have also found that the instructor/speaker performs embodied actions while producing the instruct turn. We found this type of behavior with both the instructor Delshad and with the translator Miriam. The meaning of a particular gesture becomes apparent in relation to the actual context in which it is performed (Streeck & Knapp, 1992; Streeck, 1993). We have noted that once a speaker produces an embodied action for a specific referent, subsequent speakers can use the same embodied action later on in their own talk. Thus, the speaker and coparticipant(s) coin an embodied action in joint achievement as an "embodied instruct." Gestures of this type have been called "iconic gestures" by Streeck and Knapp (1992).

In the following data segment, the referent of the gesture is the pot in which Delshad has just put the *dolmeh* (stuffed grape leaves). Delshad is the only one working with the pot while Miriam and Andy refer to it with their gestures.

Segment 3:

Embodied repetition of the embodied instruct: Pot

	M & A turn back to the stove	M wipes her hands	all three turn to the table
			D pours liquid over dolmeh,
			M and A watch
			
1	(0.8)	(0.8)	(6.4)
	D grabs pot by handles.		
	D looks down on pot		
			
2	(0.5)		

D wiggles the pot then stops

3 → D: bebin ino takoon midii,
look you shake this

4 M: mm hm

D wiggles the pot

5 → D: .hh barâye inkeh âb ha:mejaye in bereh
therefore the water goes everywhere over

M brings arms forward
in front of her chest

M makes two-fisted
wiggling movements
M gazes at A

M stretches fingers
•M shifts gaze at her hands

ID holds pot by handles

D moves hands away from pot, with pointed
index fingers freeze

!! A makes two-fisted wiggling movements

6 → M: .hhh so you- (.) sh:ake it a little bit: •let the: uh sa

(M) makes a circle
•M shifts gaze at A

M makes circle with right hand on left palm

(D)the movement

D takes the small pot with her left hand

7 M: (.) go •everywhere inside you know in between those dolmas

8 A: mm hm

D points with right index finger to the pot in her hand

M makes two-fisted wiggling movements

•M glances at her hands and back to A

9 → M: [but •jus- (0.2) a little bit

10 D: [.hh be-

In this segment, Delshad produces the instruct turn at lines 3 and 5. The onset of the embodied action can be found in line 2, where Delshad grabs the pot by its handles. The next step is the embodied action of wiggling the pot. This “wiggling” occurs shortly before she produces the lexical affiliate *takoon* (*shake*). Just like the English verb *shake*, *takoon* does not specify how this shaking action is to be performed. That is, there is no specification as to whether the pot is to be shaken from left to right, or up and down. Since the coparticipants have access to the same visual field, Delshad specifies how the pot is to be shaken with the embodied action (line 3 and 5 of the transcript).

In line 6, Miriam translates Delshad’s instruct turn of line 3 into English. Her verbal translation is accompanied by an embodied action. She, too, is producing a “wiggling” movement, however, she is not holding the pot in her hands; she is operating in an imaginary world. During these wiggling movements, her hands are fisted as if she *were* holding the pot. In addition, her wiggling movement seems to be mimicking. Miriam’s embodied action occurs shortly before the lexical affiliate (Schegloff, 1984) (line 6). That is, the embodied action serves both in Farsi and in English as a specifier of action.

In line 6, Andy, the recipient of the instruction starts to repeat the embodied action shortly after Miriam has begun with the wiggling movement (line 6). That is, Andy starts to perform the “wiggling” movement at the moment when Miriam produces the lexical affiliate *shake*. Miriam and Andy complete the embodied action at the same time.

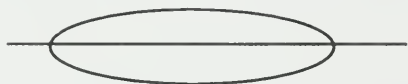
This shows that listeners can also produce gestures while another person is talking.

In lines 9 and 10, Miriam repeats part of her instruction, and again she produces the wiggling gesture. This segment shows nicely how a gesture can be coined and how it then can then travel from one participant to another.

REPAIR

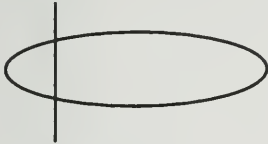
Our last segment displays a specific type of repair initiation (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977), namely, an understanding check. Of particular interest here is that the understanding check is performed both verbally and non-verbally. Moreover, it is the *gesture* that specifies the trouble in understanding the instruct turn, and it targets both the verbal and non-verbal elements of the instruct turn. In this segment, Miriam describes how to prepare stuffed eggplant. In some Mediterranean dishes, the eggplants are cut lengthwise (see display 1), each half is emptied out and then filled with meat.

Display 1



For this particular Iranian dish, however, the eggplant is cut vertically, slightly below the stem (as shown in display 2) and only the body (i.e. the right part) is emptied out and filled with meat.

Display 2



Miriam, who is explaining how to prepare the Iranian eggplant dish, does not make this distinction clear at the beginning of the instruction and it becomes the trouble source later in the transcript (see segment 4). In other words, the trouble source for Andy is how the eggplant should be cut (horizontally or vertically).

Segment 4:

Repair: Understanding check

M holds her two cupped hands
on top of each other
she repeats this gesture 4 times
(see Figure 1 below)

M holds her left hand in a cupped position
and moves her right hand in a circle
within her cupped hand

1 M: and put the stem you know the head back because they g-

M moves her right hand
away from cupped hand (see Figure 2)

2 get the head out of it [first

[A moves his right hand away from cupped hand (see
[Figure 3)

3 A: [oh okay so they [(0.2) get

4 M: [yeah

5 A: the middle out of it

- M moves her right hand away from her left cupped hand
- 6 M: then [they get the middle OUT, [then
[[A holds left palm up and slides
[right hand over left hand (see Figure 4)
[[]]
[[]]
- 7 → A: [aha [not cut it.
- 8 (.)
- 9 M: no the [middle of it.
[
- 10 A: [o:h okay okay
- M left hand in cupped position in front of her face (see Figure 5)
• M glances quickly at her cupped hand
- 11 M: •it it (.) turns into like a little bag
- 12 A: a:h okay=

Figure 1



Figur e2



Figur e3

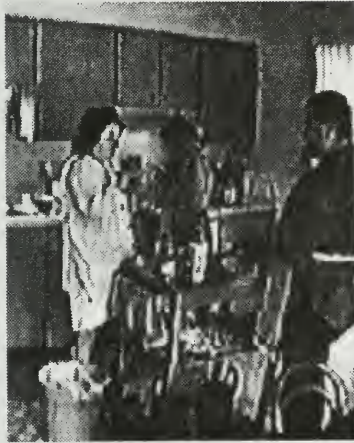


Figure 4



Figure 5



In line 1, Miriam explains how the eggplant is assembled after having been filled. In her explanation she holds both of her hands in a cupped position and moves them toward each other (picture 1). She does so four times in quick succession. Miriam's cupped hands visualize the object she is talking about, namely the filled eggplant. Each hand is one half of the eggplant, her left hand is the lower part or body of the eggplant and her right cupped hand is the head of the eggplant. Through her gestures, Miriam shows how the eggplant must have been cut before (compare display 2 and picture 1). Miriam then states that the body of the eggplant had been

emptied out before and that head and body are now re-assembled (lines 1-2). Again, gestures accompany her words: while uttering *they get the head out of it first* (lines 1-2), she makes a circular movement with her right hand within her left cupped hand and pulls her right hand away from her left hand (see picture 2). In line 3, Andy produces a change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984) followed by an instruct receipt token *okay* and a verbal transformation of the instruct turn (Goldberg, 1975) thus claiming to have understood the instruction. While producing the verbal transformation of the instruct turn, Andy also produces a transformation of Miriam's gestures: he holds his right hand in a cupped position and pulls his left hand away from his right hand. His gestures are far bigger and quicker than Miriam's and they are less precise (see picture 3). Again, this gestural transformation shows Andy's claim of having understood Miriam's instruct turn. Miriam repeats Andy's transformation in line 6. In partial overlap with Miriam's turn in line 6, Andy produces an understanding check in line 7, uttering *not cut it* combined with a gesture: He slides his right hand horizontally over his left extended hand (see picture 4). This gesture in combination with the talk marks as a trouble source the information Miriam has not specifically given, namely, how and where to cut the eggplant. It is interesting that verbally, Andy only utters the action itself, namely, the cutting (line 7), but *how* the action of cutting is performed is displayed with gestures. By holding his left palm up and sliding his right hand over the left hand, Andy's hand movements display his understanding of how the action is not to be performed. In line 9, Miriam treats Andy's utterance and gesture of line 7 as an understanding check by confirming his interpretation of her instructions and by repeating her previous turn of line 6. She then gives yet another description of what the eggplant looks like using the metaphor of a *little bag* and by holding her hand in a cupped position (see picture 5). In line 12, Andy produces another change-of-state token and the receipt token *okay* thereby claiming understanding of the instruct. The participants then move on to the next instructional sequence (not shown in the transcript).

In sum, this segment shows two interesting aspects of the use of gestures: first, repair can target gestures as trouble sources, and second, gestures can also accompany repair initiators and in this function they seem to specify the trouble source.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, let us summarize briefly what we have presented in this paper. We found that:

- (a) embodied actions are not only a speaker's phenomenon but are also performed by interlocutors.
- (b) gestures can "travel" from one speaker to another. In other words, sometimes gestures are coined for specific referents and these gestures are then available to other speakers in later turns.

(c) with regard to the instructional setting, gestures displaying or claiming understanding can stand alone or in combination with verbal utterances.

(d) the specific embodied actions which can be relevant after an instruct turn has been uttered are

1. an embodied receipt token, i.e. a head nod.
2. an embodied repetition of an embodied instruct and
3. repair, namely. an understanding check.

As mentioned in the introduction, this paper has focused on the embodied interaction in an instruction giving setting. However, instructions can also be followed by other verbal and non-verbal turns, such as: (1) compliance with the instruction; (2) instruction receipt tokens; (3) full repetition of the instruct; (4) partial repeat of the instruct turn; (5) receipt token and partial repeat; or partial repeat and receipt token; (6) transformation of the instruct; and (7) repair. We will discuss these receipt tokens in a separate paper.

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¡Mueve la Almohada! ¡Levante la Cara!
(Move the pillow. Lift your head)
**An Analysis of Correction Talk in Mexican and
Central American Parent Child Interaction**

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The paper examines parent children interaction in Mexican and Central American families. The paper focuses on the forms of discourse parents adopt to correct children's speech and non-verbal behavior. The majority of the time parents employ unmodulated corrections and bald imperatives to direct children's behavior. When modulated forms of language are employed, it is done in the context of teasing. The paper also illustrates how children respond to corrections of their speech and behavior. Children exhibit an epistemological stance i.e., a display of knowledge most of the time and do not necessarily model correct forms of behavior in their subsequent turns.

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines verbal and non-verbal communications employed in working-class Mexican and Central-American families to correct children's behavior and speech patterns. These interactions are examined across a range of settings including homework activities and workplaces . The paper will demonstrate how the interactional phenomena labeled "other-correction" and "other-initiation" of repair by conversation analysts (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks 1977) are achieved in adult/child interactions. They draw a distinction between the two forms of correction. In the first case correction is done by another speaker and in the second instance a trouble source is located by the other speaker and correction is subsequently done by the speaker of that which is being corrected. The following examples illustrate these phenomena:

Other-Correction

Ben: Lissena pigeons.
(0.7)

Trouble Source

Ellen: Coo-coo:: coo::
Bill: Quail, I think,
Ben: Oh yeh?

Ben: No that's not quail, that's a pigeon,

Other-Correction

Other-Initiation

Ken: 'E likes that waider over there,

Al: Wait-er?

Ken: Waitress, sorry,

Al: 'At's bedder,

Trouble Source
Other-Initiation
Self-Correction

In this sequence the other initiator (Al) locates the trouble whereas the speaker of the trouble source (Ken) self-corrects.

In addition, the paper examines how parents correct children's non-verbal behavior through the use of directives and gestural modeling. The paper also illustrates how correction in non-verbal behavior parallels correction in verbal behavior. Peter Weeks (1996) suggests, in his study of correction in music rehearsals, that music directors model pieces of music for the musicians. He labels this form of non-verbal correction as "illustrative expressions" (IE). He suggests that illustrative expressions bear similarities to overt corrections of verbal behavior as in both instances correct forms of behavior are modeled. In this study, when parents corrected children's non verbal behavior they illustrate correct forms of behavior as well.

The paper also examines the manner in which the children respond to parent's corrections. The majority of the literature on children's socialization in Latino communities (Alvarez, Shannon, & Vasquez 1994; Eisenberg, 1982; Valdez, 1996) emphasizes parent's role in the educational process of their children but does not discuss children's stance with their parents. This study will discuss children's various positioning in their interaction with the parents.

The findings presented in this paper contrast with some of the other studies done with respect to correcting. For example, Bellinger and Gleason (1982) in their study of *Sex Differences in Parental Directives to Young Children* point out that middle class mothers prefer to employ conventionalized indirect directives with their children: *Would you...., Can You*. The manner in which Latino caregivers employ directives also contrasts with Japanese caregivers whose directives include statements of obligation, for example 'You must go back a little more' and statements of prohibition "If you throw that kind of thing it's no good" (Clancey, 1986). While the Latino parents do not couch their directives in these forms, they do modulate their directives and corrections, in some instances in the way of teasing, use of other-initiations and polite "vi" forms.

METHODOLOGY

The data for this study consist of 20 hour video-recordings in natural settings collected in the course of ongoing fieldwork in Latino communities in South Central Los Angeles. Ten two parent families with children of ages six and seven were part of the study. Each family was videotaped twice. Examples of either 1) other-correction or 2) other-initiation of repair in verbal and non-verbal exchanges between parents and children were analyzed.

UNMODULATED FORMS OF CORRECTIONS

Other-corrections

The following two sequences will demonstrate examples of other corrections which led to self correction by the child.

In the following sequence the mother is helping four of her children with their homework. One of the children makes a phonological error. The mother stops the activity in progress to correct the child's error and this becomes the explicit focus of attention.

(1)

1	Rolando:	Te voy a leyer este libro. <i>I will read you this book</i>	Trouble Source
2	Mother:	"Leer" se dice. <i>Read one says</i>	Other-Correction
3		((to the child)) Leer Di "Leer." <i>You should say read</i>	Other-Correction
4	Rolando:	Leer (.2) leer. <i>Read (0.2) read</i>	Self-Correction
5	Mother:	Traza aquí <i>Trace here</i>	

The standard pronunciation is "leer" whereas the child says "leyer." The mother models the correct answer for him. She calls attention to the correct form by putting stress on the vowels in the word "leer." Furthermore, she prompts her child in line # 3 "Di" (say) to correct the child's utterance. This is consistent with Eisenberg's findings (1982) in her study of language acquisition of Mexican-American children that the prompt "di" is employed by Mexican parents to correct the form or meaning of utterances of their children. In this particular sequence, the mother employs "di" to remedy the child's phonological error. Note that the mother makes unmodulated corrections and uses a bald imperative, "di", to correct the child's error. This interaction contrasts with Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks' (1977) observations of other-corrections in adult conversations where this type of correction is often modulated through the use of hedges, qualifiers, pauses, and other markers of uncertainty.

In the above example the child incorporates the mother's correction in his utterance. However, there are instances when children do not necessarily emulate

their parents' corrections in this manner. In the following sequence the parent corrects the child's word choice and the child makes the correction, but does so by expanding upon the parents' utterance.

(2)

1	Jon:	Despues de aquí dónde va a ir? <i>After here where are you going to go?</i>	
2	Field Worker:	A enseñar ingles. <i>To teach English</i>	
3	Jon:	Para hombres. <i>For men</i>	Trouble-Source
4	Mother:	Para <u>adultos</u> . <i>For adults</i>	Other-Correction
5	Jon:	Y mujeres, y hombres. (.5) <i>And women and men</i>	Outcome
6		<u>papás</u> , <u>mamás</u>	

The mother other-corrects the child's word choice in line 2. She calls attention to the correct word choice by framing part of the child's utterance "para" and drops the incorrect word choice. The child then self-repairs his earlier utterance; however, he does not incorporate his mother's correction in his utterance but expands upon his own prior utterance: *y mujeres, y hombres, papás, mamás*. The fact that he uses "y" (and) further indicates that he ties talk to his prior utterance. This is also an example of co-construction where the mother and child jointly elaborate the term *adultos*. The child begins with a narrow definition i.e. *para hombres* (the men); the mother other-corrects him by stating a more inclusive term *para adultos* (for adults). The child then figures out the classes of membership included in the term "adultos," and thus includes women in line 6: *y mujeres, y hombres, papas, mamas* (and women and men, fathers, mothers.) Note that the child exhibits his agency in this interaction, i.e., he modifies his prior utterance but does not include the parent's exact form of correction in his turn.

In this example the child corrects his errors. However, there are instances when children do not make repairs in their subsequent turns. In most cases parents persist and maintain a strong position whilst correcting their children's verbal and non-verbal behavior. The following two sequences will illustrate this.

In segment 3 the mother is in the midst of a homework activity with the children. One of the children brings over some alphabet cards to the camera which he had brought home from school. The mother attempts to explain that these cards were given to the child by his teacher. The child, Miguel, contradicts his mother

saying that they were given by one of the *muchachas* (girls). The mother interjects and states that it was not a girl but a teacher who had given him the cards. Even though the child disagrees, the mother insists upon the use of the word *maestra* (teacher).

- (3)
- | | | | |
|----|-------|--|---|
| 1 | Mig: | <i>((brings cards to the video camera))</i> | |
| 2 | Mo: | Son letras que dio la <u>maestra</u>
<i>Are letters which the teacher gave</i> | |
| 3 | Mig: | No. La <u>muchacha</u> me dio las cartas en la librería.
<i>No. The girl gave me the cards in the library</i> | Trouble Source |
| 4 | Mo: | Pues eso es <u>maestra</u>
<i>Then that is the teacher</i> | Other-Correction |
| 5 | Mig: | No.
<i>No</i> | Polarity Marker |
| 6 | Mo: | Si. Es <u>maestra</u> .
<i>Yes she is a teacher</i> | Other-Correction |
| 7 | Mig: | No. Es <u>ayudante</u> .
<i>No she is an aide</i> | Polarity Marker+
Repetition of
Trouble Source |
| 8 | Mo: | El ayudante <u>pues</u> es maestra también
<i>The aide then is a teacher also</i> | Other-Correction |
| 9 | Mig: | Es una <u>muchacha</u> que enseña
<i>Is a girl who teaches</i> | Repetition of
Trouble Source |
| 10 | | a esto en la librería
<i>this in the library</i> | |
| 11 | Mo: | Es <u>maestra</u> también.
<i>Is a teacher also</i> | Other-Correction |
| 12 | Hugo: | No <i>((smiling))</i>
<i>No</i> | Polarity Marker |
| 13 | Mo: | Toda la gente están allí son <u>maestras</u>
<i>All the people there are teachers</i> | Other-Correction |
| 14 | Mig: | otra otra
<i>other other</i> | |

There is much disagreement between the mother and child about forms of address, i.e., *muchacha* (girl) or *maestra* (teacher). The child insists upon using the word *muchacha* to refer to the teacher's assistant, whereas the mother uses the categorization *maestra* (teacher). In line #7 the polarity marker *No* prefaces the child's turn displaying a strong position. The child uses a possible categorization: *ayudante* (aide). However, the mother discredits his form and states that the aide is also a teacher, and the attention shifts from one child to another, Hugo, who also says "No" smiling. Note that both mother and child display their expertise stance throughout the sequence as both parties argue over correct categorization.

Note that in this sequence all of the participants display their expertise with regard to the correct form of address. The mother demonstrates her expertise in language use whereas the children claim to be knowledgeable in school matters. However, all of the participants retain their positionings. The children do not act as passive recipients of the imparted knowledge nor does the mother accept her children's choices. Field (1994), in her study of other-correction in children's discourse, illustrates how other-corrections in children's conversations serve to index a stance on speaker B's part toward speaker A's communicative competence. She states, "a direct consequence of this implication appears to be that speaker A refuses to accept, or acknowledge as true the correction" (p. 215). In the last two examples the children do not incorporate their parent's corrections in their turns. This may indeed be because they do not want to admit communicative incompetence to their parents and others present.

Correction of Non-Verbal Behavior

Parents and children maintain strong positions in correction of non-verbal behavior as well. Parents use bald imperatives and model correct forms of behavior for their children. Weeks (1996), in his study of correction talk during music rehearsals suggests that modeling of correct behavior is analogous to correction of verbal behavior as in both cases correct behavior is modeled. The following segment illustrates these viewpoints.

(4)

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| | ((father has the child on his lap)) | | |
| 1 | Father: | ¿Dónde está el pescado?
<i>Where is the fish ?</i> | |
| 2 | Jess: | Aquí (<i>hits the fish tank</i>)
<i>Here.</i> | Trouble-Source |
| 3 | Father: | No (.5) El tiburón
<i>No the shark</i> | Polarity Marker+
Correction |
| 4 | | Mira mira el tiburón
<i>Look look the shark</i> | |

5		<i>((points to the fish in the tank))</i>	Gestural Modeling
6	Jess:	Aquí <i>((hits the fish tank))</i> Here	
7	Father:	No. No ¿dónde está el tiburón? No. No where is the shark?	
8	Jess:	Aquí. Here	
9	Father:	¿Dónde está el tiburón (.4) dónde? Where is the shark (.4) where?	
10	Jess:	Aquí <i>((hits the fish tank))</i> Here	Trouble Source
11	Father:	Con su dedo (.4) ¿dónde está el tiburón? With your finger (.4) where is the shark?	Verbal-Expression
12	Jess:	Aquí aquí Here. Here	
13	Father:	No <i>((looks at the child))</i>	Polarity Marker
14		Con su dedito <i>((holds her hand))</i> With your little finger	Multimodal Correction
15		<i>((points to the fish in the tank))</i>	
16		¿Dónde está el tiburón? Where is the shark?	
17		<i>((holds her hand and guides her finger towards the fish))</i>	Multimodal Correction
18		¿Dónde está el pescado? Where is the fish?	
19		Aquí. Mire Here look	Verbal Directive
20	Jess:	<i>((hits the fish tank with her palm))</i>	Repetition of Trouble Source
21	Fa:	No les pegué Don't hit them	Verbal Directive

22	Jess:	<i>((hits the fish tank))</i>	
23	Fa:	No les pegué. <i>Don't hit them</i>	Verbal Directive
24		<i>((holds his hand up))</i>	
25	Jess	<i>((hits his hand))</i>	Repetition of Trouble Source
26		<i>((drops his hand))</i>	
27		<i>((hits the fish tank))</i>	
28	Fa:	No los pegué. <i>Don't hit them</i>	Verbal Directive
29	Jess:	<i>((points to the fish))</i>	Self-Correction
30	Fa:	Ya más así <i>All right more like this</i>	Accepting Comment
31		¿Ya te vas? <i>Are you going?</i>	
32	Jess:	<i>(gets off her father's lap)</i>	

The father employs explicit directives to correct the child's behavior. He other-corrects through the use of bald imperatives in lines 11, 21, 23, and 28: *con su dedo* (with your finger-instead of the hand) and: *no les pegué* (don't hit them.). Directives are also used repetitively to call attention to the trouble source. The father employs several non-verbal cues in concurrence with his verbal instructions to direct the child's attention to the fish. In line 5, he points to the fish in the tank, in line 14 he looks at his child, in line 17 he holds her hand and helps guide it toward the fish, and in line 24 he holds his hand up to protect the fish tank. Ultimately, the child uses her finger to point to the tank. In this sequence note that although the child correctly responds to the father's question "*Dónde está el pescado*" (Where is the fish) with *Aquí* (here), the father does not accept this answer but insists upon specificity: i.e., accurately pointing to the fish tank versus hitting the tank.

He acknowledges her correct behavior in line 30: *Ya más así* (All right like that). In this sequence both child and parent maintain strong positions, but eventually the child complies.

MODULATED FORMS OF CORRECTIONS

Other-Initiated Repair in the Context of Teasing

Although in most cases parents correct children's speech in unmodulated ways (other-corrections, bald imperatives), modulated forms (other-initiations) were employed in the context of teasing and humor. According to Gumperz (1977), playfaces, provocative tones, deep sighs, and exaggerated or singsong intonation act as "contextualization cues" which signal the playful nature of the act. This is illustrated in the following segment.

In this example five children are sitting with their father in the living room talking about school. One of the children makes a phonological error. The father does not other-correct the child but responds to the child by imitating his mistake. The father uses exaggerated rising intonation to call attention to the error, which exemplifies as other-initiation by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977).

- (5)
- | | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|
| 1 | Luis: | ((addressing his brother))
¿No sabes escribir?
<i>You don't know how to write</i> | Trouble Source |
| 2 | Father: | ¿Escribir?
<i>Write?</i> | Other-Initiation |
| 3 | | ¿No sabes escribir?
<i>You don't know how to write</i> | |
| 4 | Luis: | Escribir.
<i>Write</i> | Repetition of
Trouble Source |
| 5 | Father: | ¿Escribi-bir?
<i>Write?</i> | Other-Initiation-
Phonological
Variation |
| 6 | Luis: | Escribir.
<i>Write,</i>
<i>heh-heh-heh</i> | Repetition of
Trouble Source |
| 7 | Father: | ¿Escribi-bi-bi-rir?
<i>Write?</i> | Other-Initiation-
Phonological
Variation |
| 8 | Luis: | heh-heh | |

The standard pronunciation of the word "write" in Spanish is "*escribir*." The child pronounces it as "*escribir*." The father calls attention to the child's error by repeating the child's error using rising intonation. This is done over a

number of turns. He then switches the frame to wordplay: teasing and mocking the child as he does so, which in turn causes the child to laugh. However, the child does not repair his pronunciation and continues to repeat the error. Note again the persistency of both the child and the father in attempts to assert their positions.

Correction of Non-Verbal Behavior through Teasing

The next example illustrates how again a parent attempts to correct the child's non-verbal behavior through teasing. The father employs bald imperatives but is very much softened through teasing.

The children are sitting and talking with their parents in the living room in this example. The father is asking the child about her teacher. However, the child rocks back and forth, clinging on to the pillow as she talks. The father attempts to remedy this behavior in a variety of ways.

(6)

- | | | | |
|----|---------|--|---|
| 1 | Mother: | ¿Cuál maestra te enseña más?
<i>Which teacher teaches you more?</i> | |
| 2 | Viri: | Miss Bhimji. | |
| 3 | | <i>(rocking back and forth with pillow as she does so)</i> | Trouble Source |
| 4 | Father: | Mueve la almohada,
<i>remove the pillow</i> | Verbal Directive |
| 5 | | Levante la cara,
<i>Lift up your face</i>
<i>(much rhythm)</i> | Verbal Directive |
| 6 | | <i>((rocks back and forth, imitating Viri))</i> | |
| 7 | Mother: | Mira-mira sentada un modo Viri.
<i>Look-look sit properly Viri.</i> | |
| 8 | Viri: | <i>(folds her arm around the pillow)</i>
heh-heh-heh | Repetition of
Trouble Source |
| 9 | | Um. | |
| 10 | Father: | <i>(folds his arm imitating)</i> | |
| 11 | | Um-Um. | |
| 12 | | <i>(rocks back and forth)</i> | |

13 (smiles teasingly)

14 Pero baja la almohada
(but put down the pillow)

In this segment the parent teases and plays with the child to a great extent. The father directs the child to put the cushion away using sing-song exaggerated intonation: *levante la cara*, (lift up your face) *mueve la almohada* (put down the pillow). The non-verbal behavior of the father in this sequence consists of teasing his child. He imitates her behavior, rocking back and forth. The child does not correct her behavior, continuing to hold on to the pillow, laughing as she does so. He then mocks her speech: *um-um*. He then imitates her behavior by folding his arms around his chest which causes her to laugh. In lines 4 and 5 he employs the *politer* "Vi" form to direct the child's behavior: *mueve la almohada* (move the pillow), *levante la cara* (lift up your face), which again serves as a mitigated way of giving instructions. When this strategy fails he takes the pillow away from her in segment 7.

(7)

Viri: Miss Bhimji
(To the fieldworker)

Father: Pero baja la almohada.
But put down the pillow

Parece que traes pulgas.
You look like you have fleas

(tickles her and takes the pillow away).

Note that as the father takes the pillow away from her he says that she looks as if she has fleas. Hence, he continues to tease her behavior even when he intervenes to correct her behavior. The child then continues to speak without the pillow.

CONCLUSIONS

Other- corrections (#1, #2, and #3), use of bald imperatives, gestural modeling (#4), and teasing (#5, #6, and #7) were some of the means used by working class Latino parents to socialize their children. Latino parents prefer to correct their children's behavior in unmodulated and explicit ways. When parents did employ modulated forms of corrections they did so in the context of teasing and playfulness, that is by using singsong intonation over their bald imperatives and imitating their children's behavior.

These findings differ from studies which suggest that adults (teachers) tend to other-initiate corrections in classroom settings (Mchoul, 1990). I suggest that these differences may be accounted by the nature of the activity. Literacy activities differ from mundane conversational and non-verbal behaviors as literacy activities are relatively formal means of educating children. Children are also given greater waiting time to correct their errors during literacy activities. In addition, Latino parents may assume a relatively greater authority over their children than their teachers may. Hence, there is a greater likelihood for parents to correct their children in unmodulated ways.

It was also noted that parents maintain strong positions and are persistent in the correction process when children refused to make corrections. Valdes (1996) suggests, in her ethnography of Mexican descent families, that the majority of the teaching to the children was carried out by means of "*consejos*" (spontaneous homilies designed to influence behaviors and attitudes) (p.125). According to my observations, parents in this study employ overt forms of directives and corrections to guide their children's behavior. Children are not lectured or told moral tales but are rather explicitly told how to behave and act.

Parents and children both display an epistemological stance in the correction process of both non-verbal as well as verbal behavior. Parents employ bald imperatives, model correct behavior in correction of non-verbal behavior, and make unmodulated corrections to correct verbal behavior the majority of the time. Children do not necessarily make the corrections in their subsequent turns and in certain instances do not make the corrections at all. They continue to repeat their errors or modify them to a certain extent but do not always include the modeled corrections in their utterances.

It remains to be investigated as to why the children in this study do not necessarily acquiesce to their parents. However, it is essential to remember that the children are being socialized in multiple settings. There is the children's school where they encounter teachers from middle class educated backgrounds. Then there are their parents who are immigrants from the rural areas of Mexico. Finally, I suggest there is the culture of urban neighborhoods which requires the child to be "tough" to combat many of the challenges it may pose. In order to gain a better understanding of all these complexities and how it impacts Latino childrens' language acquisition process, I recommend language acquisition of children in the rural areas of Mexico be compared to the language acquisition process of Latino children in the urban settings of the United States.

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Connecting Language and Literacy Learning: First Graders Learning to Write in a Whole Language Classroom¹

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The current political atmosphere surrounding literacy education in the United States pits whole language and phonics-only instruction against each other. Whole language teachers, already besieged by parents and district administrators clamoring for evidence of rising standardized test scores, are coming under increasing public pressure to abandon meaning-based language arts curricula in favor of basic-skills instruction. Using ethnographic methodology, the study from which data for this article are drawn examines how local language arts pedagogy is instantiated in classrooms. In particular, this project focuses on documenting how teachers use an ecology of social practices to form a comprehensive literacy curriculum. The analysis will show how one first grade teacher creates a context for learning in which the whole and parts of text are in dialogic relation. By gaining an understanding of current practice, this study may help teachers construct literacy curricula that more effectively addresses the tension they have experienced within language arts pedagogy. By understanding the practices of real teachers, we will be in a better position to enter the public debate over the strengths and weaknesses of both whole language and phonics pedagogies by providing evidence of how teachers merge process and skills in their classrooms.

INTRODUCTION

The current political atmosphere surrounding literacy education in the United States pits whole language and phonics-only instruction against each other. Whole language teachers, already besieged by parents and district administrators clamoring for evidence of rising standardized test scores, are coming under increasing public pressure to abandon meaning-based language arts curricula in favor of basic-skills instruction. Using ethnographic methodology, the study from which data for this article are drawn examines how local language arts pedagogy is instantiated in elementary classrooms. In particular, this project focuses on documenting how teachers use a variety of literacy approaches in an ecology of social practices (Irvine & Elsasser, 1988) to form a comprehensive literacy curriculum. As classroom interaction carries powerful messages about what counts as literacy (Luke, 1994), understanding how local literacy learning is constituted as a profoundly social process provides researchers and teachers with a valuable resource for curriculum development in context.

Data presented are drawn from a larger project that documents current language and literacy practices in two classrooms: one rural/suburban first grade and

one urban multi-aged pre-k/kindergarten classroom. I have been working in these classrooms for the past year in order to gain a richer understanding of how interaction in literacy activity influences students' learning. Only data from the first grade classroom will be discussed here to provide a detailed analysis of how the language and literacy practices in this context mediate learning to write.

If we, as researchers, are to work with teachers to learn how to effectively teach literacy and create meaningful student learning experiences, then we must work to gain a deeper understanding of the complex nature of classroom interaction and language practices in literacy activities. By gaining an understanding of local practices grounded in data, we can then enter the public literacy debate with evidence that locally constructed pedagogies are more than a hybrid between whole language and phonics. I will argue, in fact, that literacy is a social practice and describe that practice as it is constructed in the context of elementary language arts curricula. In this way, this study challenges the dichotomous debate over whole language and phonics-only pedagogies by documenting actual classroom practices.

In this paper, I will briefly describe the current debate over whole language and phonics as a context for the description of the classroom under observation. The first grade classroom will be described, followed by presentation and discussion of classroom interaction data. This is an ongoing research project; therefore, discussion and analysis of data can only be preliminary in this paper.

THE DEBATE

The current public debate over literacy instruction centers around a set of media inflamed, mutually insulting assertions about which pedagogy will most effectively result in higher test scores on standardized reading and writing assessments. Critics of whole language philosophy claim that phonics has been forgotten and that the basics are not taught, resulting in progressively lower scores on standardized tests (Rochester, 1996). Experimental researchers simply state that whole language does not work (Stahl & Miller, 1989). Whole language advocates argue that phonics has always been taught in the context of whole and predictable texts (Routman, 1996). Furthermore, critics of phonics-only pedagogy claim that if skills are separated, then the learner is positioned as a passive object rather than active subject in meaning construction (Luke, 1994). As Edelsky points out "the act of performing indivisible subskills may have little or no relation to the indivisible activity we call reading" (1991:102).

It is not my intention to fully explicate this debate in this paper. Rather, the purpose here is to document how students and teachers, in real time and in real classrooms, draw on a wide variety of skills and knowledge about text and text meaning in the context-specific processes of reading and writing. Furthermore, I argue that this debate over pedagogies is miscast and sidetracks the issue that most concerns literacy educators: How do children become literate members of the

complex society in the United States?

The problem addressed in this paper centers on this false either/or juxtaposition of whole language and phonics-only pedagogies. The larger study found that neither of these pedagogies is unilaterally implemented in the classrooms observed. In particular, the first grade teacher, who articulates a desire to someday call herself a whole language teacher (she states that she continues to strive toward whole language philosophy), has created a classroom where "language learning takes place in a coherent, sensible, predictable, purposeful environment in which coherent, sensible, predictable, purposeful language is being *used* - not practiced - both with and in front of the learner" (Edelsky, 1991:130). Students are immersed in a text- and language-rich environment within which to actively explore their own reading and writing processes over extended time periods. Reading and writing are intimately integrated across all content areas so that children are exposed to a variety of genres and strategies as they develop an understanding of text meaning, audience, and purpose.

In sum, I will look at the language and literacy practices in this classroom to argue that the current politicized debate underestimates the issues involved in the construction of literate individuals. Educators and policy makers must understand that implementation of language arts pedagogy is a much more complicated issue that includes institutional constraints (time, administrative support), educational background of teachers and students, teachers' beliefs about their students, parental involvement, and teachers' own reading and writing practices as sociocultural factors that profoundly influence the process of learning to read and write in today's classrooms.

STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Observing the organization of talk in everyday literacy activities allows researchers an analysis of how contextually situated language practices mediate literacy learning. In addition, micro-analysis of face-to-face interaction in classroom literacy activity provides an opportunity to study language, culture, and social organization in context (Ochs, 1988; M. Goodwin, 1990). Grounded in this view of language and its relation to literacy learning, I explore the following research questions:

- What are the current language practices of this classroom and how do these practices mediate literacy learning?
- What are the consequences of these language practices on students of diverse socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds?

Classroom literacy activity is videotaped on a weekly basis throughout the academic year so as to visually and auditorily document talk and interaction in activity. Field notes document weekly participant observation of literacy activity in order to present a rich picture of the whole context, particularly what occurs outside of the camera. In order to document the consequences of current language

practices on classroom participants' literacy learning, teacher and student interviews (both formal and informal) are conducted and transcribed³ to have access to the participant's perspective on literacy learning. Coding schemes emerge from these transcribed data in the course of the analysis.

Each videotape is viewed and a tape summary made. Key segments are identified and transcribed. These transcribed segments are used for detailed discourse analysis of face-to-face interaction and serve as the primary data base. Detailed discourse analysis of the participation framework (Goffman, 1981) is based on these selected portions of the basic transcript in order to present specific data as evidence of the discursive practices of particular classrooms (Ochs, 1979) and how these practices mediate literacy learning.

Transcription conventions derived from Atkinson & Heritage (1984) are used in transforming these data into text⁴. Transcription of discourse, or the process of inscribing social action (Duranti, 1997), enables the micro-analysis of how language use among activity participants mediates literacy instruction. Non-vocal, vocal, and timing features were transcribed and treated as additional evidence of students' developing literacy competence (Ochs, 1979).

THE CLASSROOM CONTEXT

The long drive from the city to Mrs. Miller's classroom is comforting as I know I will soon be in an engaging language learning environment. The beauty of the terrain, particularly the breathtaking views of Lake Ontario, enhance my anticipation. My eyes are always drawn to the woods as I search for deer, still a joy for a city kid. As I enter the small Upstate New York town, my mind wanders to historical times as I imagine the Victorian era and the lives the people must have led in these houses. Once in town, the drive to the school is short - a quick right turn and a short drive to the cemetery, then left into the parking lot. The school itself is a K-3 primary school located in a long single story, fifties-style building. All the classrooms have windows along one wall that look out over the surrounding landscape. The school serves approximately 600 students of mixed racial, ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Mrs. Miller's classroom of twenty-two first graders is down a long hallway to the right as I enter the front door. She has windows that look out to the front of the school, facing the cemetery. A visitor's initial impression of the classroom is that it is full to capacity. Stacks and stacks of books occupy every open shelf and cupboard space: all 6000 of them available for student use during free reading time over the course of the year. The room is brightly decorated with children's artwork, writing, and literature-related theme bulletin boards. Much of the room decoration is typical of a first grade classroom in this country (calendar, theme-related posters and bulletin boards, alphabet and number charts, etc.). Children work easily here. They work constantly and predictably in texts of all kinds. Reading and writing permeate their everyday activities. Mrs. Miller integrates all

tent areas into a profoundly literacy grounded curriculum. These first graders are readers and writers in a tight-knit community of learners (see Rogoff, 1994 for the definition of community of learners referred to here). Ironically, while Mrs. Miller claims to not know how she and the students construct this community, she seems able to articulate the process clearly:

I don't know how you get community. I can't tell you. All I can tell you is you need to spend time with them. You need to- I eat lunch with them. I'm with them a lot. I make time for them. I write to them everyday. I know everything about their personal lives I could possibly know. I know the names of their dogs. I know the names of their family members. They know about my family. They know what I like to do. I know what they like to do and I think the familiarity of it helps. You can't have a sense of community if you don't have time, spend time (October, 1996).

The intimacy that the teacher and students have constructed in this classroom is evident throughout the day. They freely discuss their lives at home and ask her questions about her family and life away from them. The students know her likes, dislikes, and life passions.

THE FOCAL ACTIVITY: MODELED WRITING

Mrs. Miller uses a modeled writing activity to introduce student writing time on a daily basis. To examine this activity, I draw on sociocultural theories of learning (Rogoff, 1990, 1994; Vygotsky, 1962, 1978). In this view, learning occurs through participation with others in routine everyday activity (Rogoff, 1990, 1994). Learning is thus co-constructed through joint participation in activity, such as the writing activity which is the focus of this study. Co-construction is defined here as "the joint creation of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion, or other culturally meaningful reality" (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995:171).

While learning to write is co-constructed in joint participation in activity in both classrooms under study, what the students are learning differs. In the first grade classroom discussed in this paper, students learn the writing process and such writing conventions as topic selection, spacing, paragraphing, punctuation, spelling, sequencing, etc., in the course of interaction during the writing of meaningful text. This teacher carefully integrates the teaching of these conventions as she makes the writing process explicit for her students. As the data will illustrate, students in this classroom actively contribute to text construction in ongoing activity.

Modeled Writing in First Grade

Mrs. Miller firmly states that she "never sends students to write until (she has) written." As a result she has designed her writing period so that she first

conmodels writing for students, then students spend the rest of the day on their own texts. Writing occurs every day, one and one half hours each afternoon. After the children return from outside playtime, they enter the classroom excited in anticipation of writing. Often, they announce "I know what I'm gonna write about today" as they are taking off their jackets. Without direction from Mrs. Miller, students go to the restroom, get drinks of water, and head toward the carpet area to await her arrival for writing.

The modeled writing activity itself is divided into six discrete segments: topic selection, picture drawing, writing the story, "I likes," questions/revision, and student topic announcements. During the topic selection segment, Mrs. Miller uses opening phrases such as "I have s:o many ideas floating in my head today" followed by a list of the current options for story topics to designate the beginning of the writing time. Students frequently remind her of the items on their evolving list of topics if she has omitted one. After she selects her topic (which she does not publicly announce), she writes the date at the top of the page and begins to draw a picture as a clue for students. Students enthusiastically guess at what she might be drawing. Writing follows this segment. As the following examples will illustrate, this text is actively co-constructed by both students and teacher. Students call out her next words, offer each other assistance in understanding different words, and point out conventions. The fourth segment, termed "I likes" by Mrs. Miller, follows writing and consists of a sharing of what students like about her story. Frequently students point out writing conventions in her story that they are working on in their own writing (spacing, story length, punctuation). The questions/revision segment consists of students asking Mrs. Miller questions about her story upon which she either revises the story or answers directly depending on the nature of the question. In the following section, examples of topic selection, writing, and questions/revision will be provided using one representative day of modeled writing.

Topic Selection

In the following excerpt, Mrs. Miller has settled into her chair next to the easel at the front of the carpet area. Students are seated on the carpet in front of her and on the couch (the "couch potatoes") at the rear of this sectioned area of the classroom. As students settle in, she frames (Goffman, 1974) the upcoming writing sequence by stating, "I have s:o many ideas floating in my head today." Students focus their attention on her as she repeats this statement, then begins to list the topics that have been suggested on previous days.

Excerpt 1.1:

- | | | |
|---|----------|--|
| 1 | Teacher: | I have. |
| 2 | | (1.0) |
| 3 | | <u>so:</u> many ideas floating in my head today |
| 4 | | ((sitting down facing students, looking around at students)) |

- 5 (1.6)
6 John: Turn it up a little bit more
7 Teacher: **I have so many ideas floating today**
8 that I've been having a
9 <real hard> decision=
10 ((*leans back in chair*))
11 (1.0)
12 Melissa: **So do I**
13 Teacher: =having a decision
14 ((*looks upward*))
15 a dilemma
16 ((*shakes head*))
17 (1.0)
18 I don't-
19 I could write-
20 ((*looks down, begins to count on fingers*))
21 I could write about-
22 Students: General chatter with increasing loudness
23 Teacher: My turn
24 ((*points to her chest, nods head*))
25 (1.0)
26 my turn
27 ((*points to chest, nods head*))
28 I could write about
29 I went to the
30 (0.6)
31 [theater last night
32 [((*pulls down on left little finger*))
33 (0.4)
34 [I saw Phantom of the Opera
35 Students: [.hhh
36 Teacher: I could write about
37 (0.6)
38 the- the fog and the animal story.
39 (0.6)
40 I could write about my giant teth problem story with-
41 with um (.) Mary Jo
42 o:r
43 ((*looks up over the students heads*))
44 (0.2)
4546 °and this is the one I think I (this one)°
47 ((*raises left hand, looks at marker box in her hand*))
48 (2.0)
49 Mr. Miller
50 ((*shifts legs to right*))
51 <has. a.> terible yard problem
52 ((*takes marker out of the box in her lap*))
53 and you haven't met Mr. Miller yet

- ((*looking around at students*))
- 54 Bill: I have
- 55 Teacher: Mr-
- 56 y- you have
- 57 ((*points to student*))
- 58 Mr. Miller is very particular about his ya:rd.
- 59 ((*waving marker in front of her*))

By modeling topic selection in this way, Mrs. Miller makes explicit an author's initial steps in the writing process that are often implicit and consequently not understood in other classrooms. Further evidence of students' understanding of the topic selection process can be seen in the second student turn (line 12) as she corroborates Mrs. Miller's sentiment that this process is a "real hard decision" by stating, "So do I." We can also see evidence of Mrs. Miller's community building strategy in this excerpt. By sharing her personal life through these stories, she lets her students in on who she is and what matters to her.

After a brief transition, Mrs. Miller begins to draw a picture that provides clues to her upcoming story. This technique builds on notions from whole language that pictures can serve as one of the cueing systems for students to construct meaning in the context of text. As the teacher draws her picture, the students become increasingly excited about what the story might be. A flurry of guesses ensues as each picture unfolds.

Writing the Story

By the time the story writing begins, students are completely focused on the text. They excitedly await the unfolding tale. Mrs. Miller begins to write, carefully saying each word as she goes (see figure 1). What is remarkable about this segment is the complex nature of the interaction between the "author" and the "students." Students, while ostensibly designated as listeners, serve principally as co-authors (Duranti, 1986). They actively co-construct the story while the teacher writes by calling out words for her to insert into the story. Within the first sentence of the story we can see this interactional achievement as a student contributes the word "in" to the text.

Excerpt 1.2.1:

- 92 Teacher: O:kay.
- 93 ((*looks at easel, rests hand on upper support bar*))
- 94 (4.0)
- 95 [Mr. Miller
- 96 ((*writes words as she slowly says each word*))
- 97 Students: [Mr. Miller
- 98 (2.0)
- 99 Teacher: <was workin'>
- 100 ((*writing*))



Figure 1

101 Student: in
 102 (3.0)
 103 Teacher: in
 104 Jim: Hey, (0.2) working
 105 ((points up to word on easel))
 106 Teacher: .hhh o↑h
 107 ((stops writing, turns to look at student))
 108 that's another one we get to add to collection huh.
 109 ((points to word))
 110 (0.4)
 111 Mr. Miller was working (.) <[in (.) the (.) yard>
 112 [((writing))
 113 (4.0)
 114 ((looking at paper))
 115 H:e,
 116 ((writing))
 117 (3.0)

118 >Mr. Miller was working in the yard<
 119 ((*rereading the text*))
 120 <he (1.0) was po↑unding>
 121 ((*writing*))
 122 Ellen: ing another ing

Incidents of filling in upcoming words in the text occur frequently in the data. These comments are included in the text without mention by the teacher as she simply continues to write. As the interaction progresses, one student points out that Mrs. Miller has written an “ing” word in her story. The class is in the process of constructing a list of “ing” words as part of a mini-lesson. Each time an “ing” word is spotted, either the students or the teacher will write the word on the list. I frequently observed students referring to this list when they needed help spelling one of the words they knew was there or adding another word to the list when it had been discovered in one of the books they were reading.

The normative classroom script constructed in this classroom tended toward what Gutierrez (1993) has termed responsive collaborative⁴: that is, the classroom participation framework is more flexible than in a context where the teacher tightly manages the discourse. Interaction proceeds conversationally throughout the writing segment except for three occasions during which the teacher shifts to an IRE (Interrogation, Response, Evaluation: Mehan, 1979) discourse pattern for more explicit instruction, as illustrated in the excerpts below. The first shift to IRE occurs in lines 169-176 below as the teacher instructs them on the purpose of quotation marks, i.e., to indicate direct speech.

Excerpt 1.2.2:

154 Teacher: <He: (1.0) was (1.0) angry.>
 155 ((*writing*))
 156 ((*sits back in chair and looks at paper*))
 157 (2.8)
 158 >he was po↑unding the ground with a rake< (.) he was angry
 159 ((*rereading the text*))
 160 <I (.) went (1.0) >to the door,<
 161 ((*writing*))
 162 (3.0)
 163 and said
 164 ((*writing*))
 165 (3.0)
 166 I'm gonna put some,
 167 ((*writes quotation marks, then points to them and turns to look at students*))
 168 (1.0)
 169 Students: Talking marks
 170 Teacher: Right
 171 ((*nods head, touches head with left hand*))

172 so who do you think he'll be talking to
 173 ((looks back toward the easel and points to paper))
 174 Students: You,
 175 Max: you
 176 Teacher: Right
 177 ((nods head))
 178 >I went to the door and said<
 179 ((reading as she follows text with her finger))
 180 (3.0)

In the second occurrence (lines 241-244), the teacher models crossing out as a revision technique (rather than erasing) by asking, "what do good writers do when they mess up?" The student response ("cross it out") is quickly evaluated ("right, just cross it out") and the story continues. In this way, various processes writers use, as well as writing conventions and tools, are made explicit for the students in the talk.

Excerpt 1.2.3:

228 Janet: More talking marks
 229 Teacher: More- >more talking marks<
 230 ((looking at paper))
 231 I said.
 232 (2.0)
 233 I SAID
 234 ((leans forward and begins to write))
 235 can I he↑lp
 236 (1.0)
 237 I-
 238 (1.8)
 239 oops,
 240 ((sits back))
 241 what do good writers do when they mess up
 242 John: Cross it out
 243 Teacher: Right.
 244 just cross it out
 245 ((crosses out word))
 246 ca:n I: (.) >can I help,<
 247 ((writing))
 248 I (.) ca:me
 249 ((writing))

The third shift occurs in the following excerpt as the teacher instructs students to continue to a second page instead of simply ending the story because the page ends. Writing beyond one page is a much celebrated event in this classroom. Each time a student or Mrs. Miller extends a story to more than one page, students call out in pride at each other's accomplishment.

Excerpt 1.2.4:

255 Teacher Mr. Miller
 256 ((writing))
 257 (2.0)
 258 pound (2.0) down (2.0) the (1.0) dirt,
 259 ((writing))
 260 (1.0)
 261 wow (.)
 262 well I guess my story's done huh,
 263 ((sits back in chair and looks at text))
 264 (2.8)
 265 Mr. Miller [pound down the dirt,
 266 (((turns to students))
 267 (2.0)
 268 Students No,
 269 Teacher: Well (.)
 270 ((reaches toward paper))
 271 is it done (.) do ya think,
 272 Student: [Yeah]
 273 Student: [You can] write sma:ll
 274 Teacher: I could write small
 275 ((raises eyebrows, turns to look at paper))
 276 what else could I do
 277 (1.4)
 278 what do you do
 279 ((tilts head upward))
 280 (0.6)
 281 when you get to the end,
 282 ((brushes hand along bottom of page))
 283 (1.0)
 284 Student: Put a caret
 285 Teacher: Carets would-
 286 ((points to section of text))
 287 Beth: >DO A TWO-PAGER<
 288 ((quickly sits up and points forward))
 289 Teacher: .hhh very good
 290 ((raises head, points to student))
 291 do a two-pager
 292 so (.) I need to put page two over here
 293 ((stands up and starts to turn the page))

The "I likes" segment of this activity follows immediately after the story is written. Students share what it is about the story that they like most. Students are thus socialized to think first about what they appreciate in an author's text before beginning a critique. On this particular day, students share that they liked how she used spaces, that they got the mole, that she wrote a two-pager, and that she used

quotation marks. Students' comments during this portion of the activity typically followed this mixed pattern of appreciating conventions and story content elements. What a student shared tended to mirror her/his own writing development. For example, if a student is working on spacing, she/he will comment most frequently that she/he "likes your spaces." Thus, this classroom's language and literacy practices construct a context in which the whole-to-part of text are in dialogic relation.

Questions/revision

The question/revision segment of the writing activity is significant as it provides the students with an explicit opportunity to co-author Mrs. Miller's story. Furthermore, the kinds of questions authors ask themselves while revising text is modeled in joint participation. In the following excerpt, Mrs. Miller takes eight questions from students, four of which lead to revision of the text. The excerpt includes the first question that led to revision.

Excerpt 1.3:

- 508 Teacher: Alright (.) I'm ready for questions
 509 ((holds both hands up, palms open))
 510 Student: >Wait wait wait ()<
 511 Teacher: I'm ready for questions
 512 ((puts hands behind her back))
 513 yep
 514 ((points to Lisa))
 515 Lisa: What day was he doing this
 516 Teacher: O:o
 517 what day was he doing this
 518 ((licks finger, turns to look at easel))
 519 that would be an important thing to put in
 520 ((starts to turn page on easel))
 521 (2.0)
 522 Student: yeah
 523 Teacher: I bet you could probably guess
 524 ((turning page))
 525 Students: °Sunda:y°
 526 Teacher: If he was outsi:de,
 527 ((looking at paper; runs hand down the page))
 528 (1.0)
 529 and he was working in the yard
 530 ((runs hand up and down the page))
 531 and I was ho:me,
 532 couldn't have been today huh,
 533 ((turns to look at students))
 534 Students: () Saturday, yesterday, Saturday
 535 Teacher: was working on the ya::rd

536 ((looks at paper))
 537 (2.0)
 538 <on (.) Saturday>
 539 ((writes a caret and inserts the words))
 540 (2.6)
 541 any other,
 542 ((turns back to students))

The teacher repeats each student's question as she turns to look at the text, turning back to whatever page in the story she thinks a revision could be made. As she adds text, she models editing tools such as carets or crossing out as she enters new sentences or words. Mrs. Miller revises the story when student questions add context or descriptions that she had forgotten or that the class feels contribute to the story's depth. Questions whose answers she does not know or that she decides are not relevant to the story are not used to revise. Thus, an author's right to maintain a text as she/he wrote it is also modeled for students.

The modeled writing activity comes to a close as students each tell Mrs. Miller what they will be writing about before they go to their desks. Students who are having difficulty thinking of a topic, usually one or two students, sit on the couch for a few minutes to think. Mrs. Miller comes to sit with them and asks various questions designed to focus them on a topic. As each child selects a topic, she/he goes over to the paper supply table to pick up a clean sheet, then settles down for the afternoon of writing.

DISCUSSION

It is premature at this point in the study to reach definitive conclusions in the analysis or to fully answer the research questions. Data collection continues; therefore, more complete analysis will follow the completion of the study. I have videotaped the student writing period immediately following modeled writing, putting a lapel microphone on both the teacher and on individual students. This has proven to be an exciting process as the consequences of the language practices used in modeled writing are now seen in the students as they talk while writing. In this paper, I have discussed the preliminary findings based on analysis of ethnographic data of modeled writing activity in this first grade classroom. Initial coding has indicated that Mrs. Miller explicitly models her own writing process thereby making a clear connection for students between what "real writers" do and what they as students write as they develop their own writing processes. The language and literacy practices of this classroom make the dialogic relation between the whole and the parts of text explicit. As a result, the so-called "basic skills" advocated in the back-to-basics backlash are integrated into a larger composition activity.

In sum, this study offers teachers and researchers a deeper understanding of current practice and how teachers use an ecology of approaches in the

tion of language arts curricula. In this paper, I have described how participation in literacy activity influences literacy learning in the context of a rural/suburban first grade classroom. Patterns of participation in literacy activity control meaning, i.e., how meaning is constructed in schools, by whom, and for what purpose. By understanding these profoundly social processes, teachers can then gain a deeper understanding of how participation in literacy activity mediates this learning process. Furthermore, this study may help teachers construct literacy curricula that more effectively addresses the tension they have experienced within language arts pedagogy. By understanding the practices of real teachers, we will be in a better position to enter the public debate over the strengths and weaknesses of both whole language and phonics pedagogies by providing evidence of how teachers merge process and skills in their classrooms.

NOTES

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³ The following transcription conventions are used in the examples given:

Colons denote sound stretch ("s:o"); Brackets indicate overlapping speech; Equal signs indicate closely latched speech, or ideas, for example:

Teacher:	[I came]=
Student:	[More t]alking marks
Teacher:	=outside and helped Mr. Miller

Intervals of silence are timed in tenths of seconds and inserted within parentheses; short, untimed silences are marked by a dash when sound is quickly cut off ("Mrs.") or with a period within parentheses (.). Rising intonation within an utterance is marked with an arrow ("he↑lp"); Falling intonation at the end of an utterance is indicated with a period ("said."); Descriptions of speech or gesture are italicized within double parentheses ("((leaning into easel))") Single parentheses surround items of doubtful transcription; and **boldface** indicates items of analytic focus.

⁴ See Gutierrez (1993) for full explication of this concept. Responsive collaborative script is characterized by flexible participation boundaries with increased student responses within and between teacher-student initiations and responses. The teacher frames and facilitates the activity but does not rigidly control turn selection and topic expansion. Both teacher and students generate questions to which there is no specific correct answer. The implied goal is a shared understanding of knowledge.

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"Tell Me Legally, Tell Me Legally": Linguistic Hegemony in Real Time

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In this paper I demonstrate how a man, in real time interaction, makes relevant his social identity as teacher and African American as he tries to get the students to adopt stylistic and strategic aspects of educated middle class rhetoric, which I call the abstract/speculative inquiry style.

When the teacher asserts certain institutional classroom interactional privileges associated with being a teacher (e.g., interrupting a student's turn) he highlights his identity qua teacher (and his interlocutors' identities qua students), and therefore highlights the power asymmetry of the social interaction. Insofar as the teacher exploits (and the students allow him to exploit) these power-asymmetrical interactional resources as he promotes abstract/speculative rhetorical inquiry, and attempts to silence concrete/empirical rhetorical inquiry, he and they imbue the character of teaching abstract/speculative inquiry with hegemonic, even coercive, political significance.

When the teacher foregrounds his shared African American social identity with the students he 1) does not assert those institutional classroom interactional privileges associated with being a teacher, and 2) uses more concrete/empirical features in his own rhetoric—even as he attempts to promote abstract/speculative inquiry. As a consequence of these co-occurrence facts, the teacher marks both a particular rhetorical style (abstract/speculative inquiry) as well as a hierarchical classroom interactional ecology with non-African Americaness or whiteness, while imbuing concrete/empirical inquiry and a more symmetrical conversational ecology with African-Americaness.

INTRODUCTION

Recently there has been increasing effort to understand how local, face-to-face interaction influences, and is influenced by, macrosocial structure and processes (Giddens, 1987; Erickson, 1995; Polyani, 1996). The challenge in making this microsocial/macrosocial connection is to show how macrosocial processes are played out in real time among ordinary human beings participating in ordinary interaction in a way that neither trivializes the role that local participants play (as so many macrosociological approaches do) nor trivializes the reality of general social processes (by ignoring them, placing them "outside" the local encounter, or by equating macrosocial processes with the mere sum total of all local actions).

Table 1. Outline of study's participants

Name of Class: "Street Law"

Site: Urban public high school, U.S. East Coast, 1993

Teacher:

- African American male, mid 20's
- private high school, elite university, elite law school

Students:

- mixed sex African Americans, ages 15-19

In this paper, I show how one man indexes two social identities available to him (*teacher* and *African American*; see Table 1) as he tries to get his students to use an abstract/speculative rhetorical style. I propose that his foregrounding a social identity of teacher while enforcing abstract/speculative rhetoric produces and reproduces the hegemonic (Gramsci, 1971) practice of promoting *elite* styles of talk over *vernacular* ones in that abstract/speculative inquiry has been characterized both by the local actors in this study, as well as by previous academic studies, as a predominately middle-class, white discourse style (Schatzman & Strauss, 1966; Erickson, 1969; Kochman, 1981; Heath, 1983; Erickson, 1984). Moreover, the teacher's willingness to foreground a power-asymmetrical set of interactional relations simultaneous with his promotion of the teaching objective imbues the teaching objective (here, the teaching of an elite rhetorical style) with the logic of domination.

Not only, however, does the teacher imbue the teaching of an elite rhetorical style (the abstract/speculative style) with hegemonic significance by using the institutionally-derived conversational privileges at his disposal to enforce its use, but he also, indirectly, imbues both that rhetorical style, as well as the exercising of those classroom interactional privileges, with *non*-African Americaness or whiteness (Frankenberg, 1993; Fine et al. 1997) in that whenever he indexes his African American social identity (through use of linguistic features and pronominal reference) he himself tends to use more features of the vernacular concrete/empirical inquiry style. Furthermore, whenever he indexes his African American social identity, he refrains from claiming those classroom interactional privileges that a teacher may otherwise claim. Therefore, he and the students can be seen as active agents in the production and reproduction of macrosocial structures, specifically, 1) that the abstract/speculative style indexes whiteness while the concrete/empirical style indexes African-Americaness, and 2) that hierarchical interactional ecology of the traditional classroom also indexes whiteness, while a less hierarchical interactional ecology indexes African Americaness, and the historically constructed African American *idealized* ethos of egalitarianism (Fordham, 1996, p. 77).

ELITE RHETORIC

The man in question is himself a law student who, as part of his law school's community outreach program, is teaching local high school students (Table 1) about the law, legal process and citizens' rights in a course entitled *Street Law*. In this class, I will argue that in addition to teaching the above, this teacher was also trying to get the students to emulate a particular rhetorical style, the abstract/speculative style in their rhetorical inquiry. I define the abstract/speculative style as:

Argumentation in which the rhetor assumes an "objective" stance in discussing situations in which concrete people operating in actual historical situations are either absent or abstracted, that is, *removed*, from the "real world," the concrete and the personally experienced.

The larger study from which this paper is taken (Clark, in progress) shows that the abstract/speculative style is similar to styles described in earlier literature as being typical of rhetorical styles used by the middle class and middle class white Americans (Schatzman & Strauss, 1966; Erickson, 1969; Kochman, 1981; Heath, 1983; Erickson, 1984). Therefore, in that the *Street Law* teacher was promoting an abstract/speculative inquiry style he was also promoting middle class, white ways of talk, which I will refer to interchangeably as the "*elite* rhetorical style," "*elite* inquiry," etc.

One aspect of elite inquiry, I claim, is the tendency of the speaker to pass herself off as being a spokesperson for "objective truth." This effect is gained by the elite rhetor using less human reference in her argumentation. In Example 1, the teacher, Len, models elite rhetoric during a class discussion of the areas of expression that are not protected by the First Amendment of the US Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech. "Pop that Coochie" is a raunchy rap video.

Example 1

1. Len: But is, "pop that coochie" a valuable idea or information?
2. Akeem: To some people.
3. Lakesha: Well, some people like it.
(...)
17. Len: So you think those videos should be banned, you think MTV is right when it snatches all those videos off?
20. Lakesha: Well, I don't think so because I have a lot of brothers and they like that stuff so you know I just want to look at them and let them look at them too.

Len's inquiry in 1 and 17 contains only one reference (i.e. "you") to a human

entity, contrasted to the students' multiple human references. In particular, there is no human semantic Experiencer for the predicate "valuable" and there is no explicit human semantic Agent (for the predicate "ban") (Chomsky, 1986; Radford, 1988), as highlighted in Example 1a.

Example 1a

1. Len: But is "pop that coochie" a valuable idea or information?

17. Len: So you think those videos should be banned, you think
MTV is right when it snatches all those videos off?

Rather, Len invokes an unseen Experiencer and Agent that can name "a (non-) valuable idea or information" and "ban" it from the airwaves.

Len's abstract query contrasts with the students' (Akeem and Lakesha) immediate response at 2, 3 and 20, in that they supply the missing human as in Example 1b (I use boldface to indicate my emphasis in transcripts and examples):

Example 1b

2. Akeem: **To some people.**

3. Lakesha: Well, **some people** like it.

(...)

20. Lakesha: Well, **I** don't think so because **I** have a lot of **brothers** and **they** like that stuff so you know **I** just want to look at them and let **them** look at them too.

In doing so, the students concretize Len's abstract inquiry. The *Street Law* students' preferred rhetorical style, the concrete/empirical style I define as:

Argumentation which is based on "real world," concrete, empirically demonstrated instances of human behavior.

The larger study from which this paper is taken (Clark, in progress) shows that the concrete/empirical style preferred by the *Street Law* students is similar to styles described in the earlier literature as being typical of the working class (Schatzman & Strauss, 1966; Lindquist, 1995); or of working class African Americans (Erickson, 1969; Kochman, 1981; Heath, 1983; Erickson, 1984; Ball, 1992). Accordingly, I will refer to the concrete/empirical rhetorical style as the "vernacular rhetorical style," or "vernacular rhetorical inquiry" etc.

The teacher, I argue, is modeling elite inquiry. Elite rhetors like Len strive for the broadest, most universal statements possible. The presence of people in their argumentation, particularly specific people, tends to detract from the goal of trying to sound as objective and as universal as possible. So, in Len's style we find

less human reference. When we do find human reference in Len's elite inquiry, the humans tend to be abstract generic ones contrasted with the students' use of specific human reference in their rhetoric as in Example 2:

Example 2

1. Len: That that's an argument, let me let me ask the uh, females in the room. What do you, I mean do you think pornography has a , a *special* detrimental effect on **women** ? In how it portrays **women**?
2. Lakesha: And you know what it, it's you know. those those **girls, they, they, wanna** be there.

The "women" that Len refers to in 1 are semantically generic, or, at very least non-definite and non-specific, while the human referents that Lakesha cites in 2 are the specific "girls" that perform in the videos.

Table 2. Summary of features distinguishing elite and vernacular rhetorical styles

Elite Rhetorical Style

Abstract people set in an abstract world in abstract time.

- **Less** human reference overall
- Tendency toward generic, **non-specific** human reference
- Less use of first-person reference
- "What **if**" and "What **should** be" scenarios

Vernacular rhetorical style

Real people experiencing the real world in real time.

- **More** human reference overall
- Tendency toward **specific, definite** human reference
- **More** use of first-person reference
- "What **is**" and "What **was**" scenarios

Examples 1 and 2 have shown a few of the features that distinguish elite inquiry from a vernacular rhetorical style. Table 2 summarizes these and other distinguishing features from the larger study which both describes the elite and vernacular rhetorical styles as well as describes how the students accommodate to and/or *resist* (Giroux, 1983; Erickson, 1987) the teacher's attempts to do so (Clark, in progress).

INDEXING TEACHER

One of the earliest and best understood aspects of usual classroom conversa-

tional ecologies in North America, Britain, Australia and France (Mehan, 1985) is the “radically asymmetrical” (Stubbs, 1976, cited in Cazden, 1986, p. 443) interactional privileges that the teacher “has.” As Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) point out, “Within the classroom the teacher has the right to speak whenever he wants to, and children contribute to the discourse when he allows them to.” (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975, p. 37). However, these rules are implicit (Green, 1983) and must be created and claimed by the interactants in actual real-time interaction (Erickson, 1975; Erickson and Schultz, 1982; Erickson, 1986; Erickson, 1995). In other words, in classroom interaction, the historically constructed privileges of the teacher are “there,” yet it remains for the teacher to lay claim to these institutional privileges, and it remains for the students to allow the teacher to lay claim to them, in face-to-face interaction. As these privileges are not automatic (they remain to be claimed) there is similarly no logical reason why these privileges *must be claimed*, although the odds are that they will be (Giddens, 1987; Erickson, 1995). Therefore, in *Street Law*, the law student charged with teaching these students has a choice in the manner in which he will get his students to learn how to argue a point in an elite rhetorical style. It is entirely possible - though not likely - that Len, the teacher, could have refrained altogether from making his identity as teacher relevant in the interaction. However, this was often not the case. That is, Len invoked his one-up social identity as teacher to “deliver the word” to the students, and he invoked or indexed his identity as teacher by performing the interactional privileges that have historically accrued to the institutional identity of *teacher*. Here, I will examine two of these institutionally available interactional privileges: (1) claiming institutionally available turn slots, and (2) interrupting.

Claiming institutionally available turn slots

The canonical structure of teacher-student talk consists of an *initiation* by the teacher, a *reply* by the student and a *evaluation* given by the teacher to the student’s reply. (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1985). This initiation-reply-evaluation (IRE) structure yields the simple fact that, unlike typical polite conversation, in which the current speaker can herself select the next speaker (or another speaker can self-select) (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), a student does not, typically, have this option in the classroom. That is, a student, during the reply act, may not select another student, nor may another student—typically—self-select. Therefore each student turn (canonically the reply) is bounded by a *teacher* turn. The following example shows Len indexing his social identity as teacher. He does so by, first, claiming a turn after each student turn, and second, by evaluating what Lakesha says in those claimed turns. We will see that Len gains the power to evaluate his students by his own local shaping of the institutional classroom turn economies.

Example 3

1. Lakesha: Yeah. I got it. I want to do the next one

2. Len: Okay Lakesha.
3. Lakesha: Um, A movie about, kid's pornography.
4. Len: Right.
5. Lakesha: I hate it. I don't think it should be.
6. Len: Tell me legally, tell me legally.
7. Lakesha: Um. I 'on't, I just don't think it's right.
8. Len: Well then what about the test? Does it meet any of the standards of the test? Or does it fail every standard?

Len indexes his identity as teacher by assuming and claiming the historically-received interactional privileges to evaluate what students says. At 6, the teacher rejects Lakesha's locating the persuasive basis of her argument in herself ("I hate it. I don't think it should be."). Instead he explicitly instructs Lakesha to appropriate the voice (Wertsch, 1991; Erickson, 1995) of a legal text that he had distributed that day (see Table 3).

Table 3. Class Handout: Legal definitions of obscenity

1. Obscenity
 - b. test:
 1. would the average person applying contemporary community standards find the material sexually offensive?
 2. does the material show illegal sexual conduct?
 3. does the material lack serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value?

The power to evaluate another one's way of making sense of the world is buttressed here by institutionally received classroom turn conventions, which, as we have seen, traditionally give the teacher - ahead of any other student - priority for a turn following any student turn.

Example 3a

1. Lakesha (student): Yeah. I got it. I want to do the next one
2. (teacher turn favored here)
3. Lakesha: Um, A movie about, kid's pornography.
4. (teacher turn favored here)

5. Lakesha: I hate it. I don't think it should be.

6. (teacher turn favored here)

etc.

However, social identity is a matter of interactional achievement, of performance in real time (Erickson, 1975; Erickson & Schultz, 1982; Erickson, 1986; Erickson, 1995). It is not enough to merely 'be' a teacher, one must claim or achieve that identity in moment to moment interaction. Teacher is as teacher does. And what Len does, and what Lakesha lets Len do, is claim the institutionally available turn slots *earlier* at 2 and 4. At 2, Len *shapes* what otherwise might be seen as a simple statement of Lakesha's will into a *request to be a ratified speaker*. In other words, he grants permission ("Okay Lakesha.") in a situation where permission was not necessarily asked for, and in so doing instantiates and produces a one-up teacher-student dyad. He is able to do this and not appear outrageously presumptive because of that institutionally available turn slot, which, if not automatically his, is and has been historically constructed as his for the taking. Similarly, at 4, while Len's brief response, "Right" has one reading along the lines of "Yes, you are on the correct task" it is also, like turn 2, an act of indexing teacher in that it occupies a turn that, by rights, a teacher may occupy, and thus it also continues the IRE rhythm established at 2. Moreover, this "right" at 4 has a nascent evaluative character, that is, "right" as in "good" which, in turn prepares and anticipates the evaluative character of turns 6 and 8, in which is the most crucial information is being communicated. In the guise, then, of the mundane task of "calling on a student" in the first 4 turns, Len has at once established a predictable, rhythmic teacher/student/teacher turn exchange as well as he has imbued his turns with the power to ratify and to evaluate. The hegemonic practice of devaluing vernacular bases of argumentation in favor of elite, legal ways gets a head start in the banal details of classroom management.

Interruption

If the historically-received teacher "has the right to speak whenever he wants to" as Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) claim, then he also has the right to *interrupt* a student as well as claim each succeeding turn slot. The following example shows two different instances of teacher interruption. In the first instance Len wields his right-to-interrupt as act of evaluation, whereas the second instance of interruption shows the teacher trying to reestablish a now broken IRE turn exchange.

Example 4

1. Len: So what is, so, so what is uh, Lakesha, what's obscene about the video?

2. Lakesha: Well, heck, first of all, one of them, one of the videos, was that um, see I

can't, remember but, it was one video they had one woman up there with nothin', she had=

Len: → =Just just tell me tell me in accordance with this test. Tell me, relate, relate what you're sayin' to the test. Do you have a handout?

4. Lakesha: No=Yeah, I do but.

5. Tamika: You talkin' about En Vogue, the video "you and me"

6. Lakesha: Noo, [d]e old video with [d]em crazy um, Luke brothers and stuff. ((*chuckles*)) I just think it's, it's it's () I just don't think [it's

7. Len: [So so tell about the test, what is it, is it is it but is it that it lacks value? Is it that it's illegal?

8. Lakesha: Illegal. Psych. ((*laughter*))

At 3, Len less subtly and more aggressively indexes his social identity as teacher in that he *interrupts* Lakesha at 3 instead of waiting for her to finish her turn. Moreover, the words with which he interrupts her ("Just just tell me tell me in accordance with this test") negatively evaluate Lakesha's rhetorical strategy of unpacking the abstract term, "obscene," with a concrete description of real people in the real world. Yet here, unlike in the previous example, the students do not yield as easily to Len's attempts to pursue a teacher-dominant IRE turn sequence. Here, another student, Tamika, flouts the IRE turn ecology first by self-selecting, and second, by addressing another student (Lakesha) instead of the teacher. *What* she says as she does so is as significant as her stopping the IRE rhythm: that is, her clarification request! ("You talkin' about En Vogue, the video "you and me?") allows Lakesha to restart her concrete, personalized description of "obscenity" at 6. Again, Len interrupts at 7 ("So so tell about the test, what is it, is it is it but is it that it lacks value? Is it that it's illegal?"). In a display of resistance, Lakesha mouths what Len wants to hear, albeit with a caustic tag, "psych."²

Why does Len initially cut Lakesha off at 3? If Len-as-teacher has an institutionally received "easy-in" on any turn following a student's turn, then why interrupt? On one level, Len's breaking off Lakesha's turn has the effect of *silencing* her, perhaps not her personally, but silencing the rhetorical style she voices. Yet Len's initial interruption is about more than just clearing the air of that voice so that it is not heard. This interruption, like the blows of a courtroom judge's gavel, silences, indexes, an power-asymmetrical teacher/student dyad, and evaluates the talk that proceeded and provoked the gavel pounding to be uncouth and therefore, worthy of silencing.

However, we see that the students don't necessarily give in so easily. Tamika at 5 supports the reprimanded Lakesha and continues the concrete inquiry. When

Lakesha then responds to *Tamika*, instead of Len, she and Tamika perform an act of resistance which *reduces* the symbolic power of Len's *next* act of interruption at 7. In locking out Len from a turn at 6, Lakesha and Tamika depreciate the symbolic value of Len's next interruption (line 7) from evaluation from a conversational superior to a merely an aggressive bid for a turn.

INDEXING AFRICAN AMERICAN

We have seen how Len indexed a teacher identity for the purpose of underscoring what constitutes an acceptable rhetorical style. In this section I will show how and why Len indexes an African American social identity. The following example, taken from the same class, shows the class discussing another area of speech not protected by First Amendment free speech rights, so-called "Fighting Words." In this example, notice how Len indexes his African American social identity at 16, through the use of well known African American Vernacular English features.

Example 5

1. Len: Alright um, what about uh, Miguel could you do 4B fo' me please?
2. Miguel: "At a game one group of fans yells across the field at another group of fans 'your team sucks and so does your mother'"
3. Juan: That's fightin' words.
4. Miguel: Fighting words
5. Aisha: That's fightin' words.
6. Len: Well but look at look at the test. Look at the test.
7. Chanika: No matter the test ! They fightin' words!
8. Aisha: ((*generally saying the same thing as Chanika?*))
9. Len: But what but what what's the test? Now somebody=A, Aisha bring in the test. Read me the test under, under the standard, of the 4A1, in the text what's the test?
10. Aisha: "Test, are the words, more like an assault than information or an opinion" yeah.
11. Len: Okay, now, now read all of 4A for me.
12. Aisha: "Fightin' are, abusive or threatening words spoken face to face that are likely to cause a breach of the peace between the speaker and the listener, " But what I'm sayin' is-()

13. Chanika: If somebody say somethin' like that, the the, the whole stadium get quiet.
They go [Oooooooooh!]

14. Aisha: [Ooooooooooh!]

15. (Chanika and Aisha laugh)

Len: → How many people have been to games. How many people have been to games.
((*most students raise their hands*)) College games, pro games. Now come on.
If the Redskins (*zero copula*) on one side, and the Cowboys fans (*zero copula*)
on the other, they (*zero copula*) yellin' back and f[o]th, "you suck, Cowboys,
Indians, y[o] moth[ə] blah blah blah."

17. Chanika: They fightin'

18. Len: But, are they really fightin' words. What does the test say?

19. Chanika: [They fightin' words. Once you get your mother into it].

20. Len: Face [to face ((*louder*)) Face to face that are likely to cause]=I'm not saying
that you're not gonna like it. But I'm sayin' when you (*zero copula*) watchin'
a game, is that part of the game? To yell back and forth. My team your team
my team your team.

21. Akeem: It matter what kind of game it is, if it's a professional game you' ain't I mean
you ain't gonna even gonna hear 'em.

22. Len: But,

23. Chanika: ()

24. Akeem: But if it's like a high school, basketball, basketball game, when it's in that little
gym, and somebody say, somethin' like "Your mother this, your mother that."
It's, that's why=

25. Juan: =Fightin' words!

26. Chanika: [They gonna fight].

27. Len: [But, but what, but] what's the test? But what but what's the definition of
fighting words? A, Aisha just read it, what do you need for people be fightin'
words.

28. Chanika: It has to be threatening, or abusive. And face to [face.

29. Aisha: () [face to face, but I'm sayin'
(pounding desk), that is fightin' words. I don't care what that program say!

30. Akeem: Well your paper wrong.

At 6, Len attempts an act of evaluation as he admonishes the students to "look at the test." However, the students, at 7, *reject* Len's evaluation ("No matter the test") at the same time they reject a redirection of the inquiry. Len strikes back and has Aisha, a student generally more accommodating to elite rhetoric, actually *read* the legal test at 12 - an interesting and, I believe telling way in which Len demonstrates the nature of his overall project, namely, if the students are unwilling to creatively appropriate the voice of elite rhetorical inquiry and texts, then he'll have them mouth it. However, the teacher's pet bites this time and, together with Chanika (12-15), she resists the legal definition of "fighting words" for another one grounded in experience. Len, in turn, dramatically changes his tactics at 16 in indexing an African American social identity through his use of well-known African American Vernacular English features, namely, the vocalized (that is, absent) liquid consonants, [r] and [l] and the deletion of the copula (Labov, 1972). First, note that Len *indexes African American* after his more coercive, teacher-indexing attempts have failed. But most crucially, note that at the same time Len marks Black he also appeals to his and his interlocutors' *concrete* experiences (local football games). This appeal is more typical of the concrete/empirical rhetorical style.

My final example, like the previous one, shows how Len indexes his identity as an African American as he accommodates toward a vernacular rhetorical style, though, presumably, with the purpose of selling the students an abstract proposition (i.e. that "women" in general [see example 2 above] are hurt by raunchy rap videos).

Example 6

270a. Akeem: Nobody didn't "get on stage and[you, pop that bottle!"]

270b. Lakesha: [They *wanted* to do it.]

271. Len: Well that that's, ((to Akeem and Lakesha)), that's always gonna be the presumption. People, in this country are doing what they want to do. Some times it doesn't always end up that way.

272. Akeem: I'm sayin' but.

273. Len: → **You and I know that.**

274. Akeem: I'm sayin', what I'm sayin', is that you can't say that the men, um, putting the women makin' them look bad because, no man didn't tell 'em [to take

275. Len: [You see, what your argument, what your argument is that, that, that, it's, okay it's a pornographic film and the woman wants to be there. Some people argue that maybe that was true in say the first pornographic film, but as pornography and obscenity and music video in our society has evolved, a

and we've been given more sexual freedom to show those things some people will argue that, by creating this type material you force women into those roles.

276. Akeem: How do you force 'em?

277. Lakesha: You don't. You don't You don't

278. Len: → Well it's it's the same thing that you know if you ever hear people say about Blacks in this country, have a "slave mentality"

In 273, Len says "You and I know that." This is a subtle, yet powerful appeal to Len's and the students' shared African American identity. It is also one of the very few times in not only this class but in all of my data that Len uses the word "I" to index himself in a personal way rather than in just some hypothetical, construct (as in: "Let's say that you and I...") (Clark, in progress). Just as striking as this rare use of authentic first person reference is its purpose: Len is trying to subtly show Akeem and Lakesha the consequences of limiting their inquiry of the world to real people experiencing the real world in real time. While Len uses very personal, concrete terms to do so, ("you and I") he is still pursuing an abstract thesis¹ as well as suggesting to his interlocutors that they already have the knowledge bases to do inquiry this way ("You and I know that."). The subtlety of his doing so in 272 ("You and I know that.") is made more explicit in 278 when he more explicitly mentions "Blacks in this country." More striking, especially in comparison with earlier examples given in this paper, is the lack of coercion with which he argues this point to the students: Unlike in the previous examples, the students don't have to mouth it or be told to do it under coercion through dogged claims on teacher turns following student turns or through interruptions.

Len may still be promoting elite inquiry, yet he does so by *not* relying as much on the conversational privileges of being a teacher. Although he does interrupt Akeem at 275, Len does not attempt to instantiate the IRE instructional sequences we saw in earlier examples. He is still trying to get the students to adapt more abstract rhetorical perspectives (by, for example talking about "women in general" rather than the more specific "women-who-perform-raunchy-dances") but he does so not by issuing negative, global evaluations (c.f. "tell me legally, "tell me legally" example 3), but by arguing more like a conversational equal.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, I have attempted to show how the hegemonic discursive practice of a teacher trying to get his students to emulate the rhetorical style of the elites unfolds in real conversational time. From these examples, the foregrounding of one or the other of two of Len's social identities has different consequences, not just for the local encounter, but for the larger discursive practice of saying, and

acting on the belief that one way of talk is better or more valuable than another. That is, insofar as Len indexes the one-up role of teacher in teaching abstract-speculative inquiry, he inscribes that type of talk with the logic of dominance, one interruption at a time.

The distributional facts (Table 4) of Lee's identity marking show that when Lee indexes African American identity, he also pursues a more vernacular (i.e. concrete/empirical) rhetorical style. Furthermore, Len's teacher-indexing and African American-indexing occur in complementary distribution. That is, in these examples, Len never indexes teacher identity *at the same time* he indexes African American identity.

Table 4: Distribution of Teacher's identity indexing and inquiry style.

	Ex. 1	Ex. 2	Ex. 3	Ex. 4	Ex. 5	Ex. 6
Len indexes teacher identity	X	X	X	X		
Len indexes African American identity					X	X
Len uses more abstract/speculative inquiry	X	X	X	X		
Len uses more concrete/empirical inquiry					X	X

Therefore, Len, together with the students, mark both a rhetorical style (concrete/empirical inquiry) and a less hierarchical conversational ecology with African Americanness or blackness, as he and they mark both abstract/speculative inquiry and the more hierarchical classroom conversational ecology with *non*-African Americanness or whiteness.

Crucially, these local social actors are doing hegemony and resistance at the same time they are doing ordinary interaction. On one hand, they are not forced or determined by the larger social order to act as they do: the teacher may choose or not choose to claim his interactional privileges as teacher and the students may choose to either submit to or resist those privileges. On the other hand, these local social actors do not operate autonomously outside the larger social order: The institutional identities of "teacher" and "African American" enter the local encounter with a force and a momentum that holds at least some sway over the local

actors. This momentum is seen in how the students initially acquiesce to the IRE classroom turn conventions that Len claims. It is also seen in how Len himself uses a more vernacular concrete/empirical inquiry style as he indexes an African American social identity even as he is trying to get the students to use the more abstract/speculative style.

NOTES

¹ Or "other initiated repair" (Schegloff, 1979)

² "Psych" may be understood as functioning as a negative particle, similar to the humorous, clause-final "not" (c.f. "Illegal. (pause) not!").

³ I.e. *pornography* (an abstract cover noun standing in for specific concrete instances) *hurts women* (generic, non-specific "women in general, not specific women)

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Embodying Friendship: Social Structure, the Use of Space and Language Use in a New Zealand Deaf Women's Group

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[T]alk and other ordinary conduct are informed by a principled orientation to the setting-specificity of their undertakings.

On the other hand, in any particular scene, on any particular occasion, moment-by-moment, this formal orientation is "filled in" by particulars, is implemented or realized in particular contextual orientations (Schegloff, 1992, p. 215).

Activity is always *located*. A person doing something always does it *some-where* and his doing always entails a relationship to the space which has in it the objects or people with which the doing is concerned. (Kendon, 1990, p. 209).

Before speeches could be exchanged or a linguistic sound produced, there were conventional acts performed by human bodies. And before human bodies, there was space, not just empty space, but culturally meaningful space, that is space always ready to be occupied by social personae engaged in specific activities (Duranti, 1994, p.48).

1. INTRODUCTION

People structure their lives by arranging their environments, arranging themselves and conversing with each other in these created contexts. This study of the Mothers Club of Auckland, New Zealand, a Deaf women's group, looks at what spatial arrangements, as reflected in two years of seating patterns, can tell us about long term language use, particularly the relationship between sign language and lip-speaking, and the sociopolitical implications of this use of space.

All forms of language embody assumptions about space. These assumptions are part of Emmanuel Schegloff's "principled orientation" to specific settings which he sees as part of ordinary conduct and reflect Adam Kendon's insight that activity is always located. Schegloff and Kendon looked at informal Western interactions, organized but spontaneous at the micro-level such as telephone conversations and birthday parties, where people usually come together into conversation and then separate without formal planning.

Language is equally vital to Alessandro Duranti's work, but the setting is very different. His view of "space always ready to be occupied by social personae

engaged in specific activities" reflects his work in a more formal situation, the Samoan *fono*. He sees this space, with sometimes latent, sometimes active potential, as a key building block in the process "whereby social structure is presupposed and at the same time reproduced" (1994, p. 55). Other building blocks of the structure of a *fono* include a kava ceremony, rules for speaking and specific linguistic practices.

This study of seating patterns in the Mothers Club is an attempt to bridge the gap between small scale and flexible interactions characteristic of ordinary talk, the object of Conversation Analysis as done by Schegloff and his colleagues and the work of Adam Kendon, and the formal political settings of the *fono*. One difference between ordinary talk and interactions at the *fono* is that those at the *fono* are more structured in a way that is accessible to the participants. The open discussion of seating arrangements at the *fono* is an example of this:

Samoans can easily provide an outsider with information about seating arrangements, which can be used to draw an ideal seating plan....[This plan forms a schema which] allows for predictions that can be easily adapted to a great variety of situations (Duranti, 1994, p. 60).

Mothers Club patterns are intermediate because they are more planned than the small scale interactions looked at by Kendon and Schegloff but less organized than the seating at a *fono*. Mothers Club members sit in seats for extended periods of time in patterns sometimes not explained by chance but there is no open model for this seating such as 'important speakers will sit here' as Duranti has found in his work.

My argument is that by looking at such intermediate patterns in conjunction with language variation, we can get access to how the spatial assumptions in language held by this group of women are played out over time which in turn gives us insight to what these spatial assumptions are. These spatial assumptions, however, are not only related to physical constraints of space but models of what space should be—how many people should be able to understand and how many people should be included in a given conversation or other interaction. Seating patterns therefore can be teased out into a far broader picture, one that can help us understand such fundamental cultural notions as who one talks to, the nature of friendship and how this friendship can be utilized on behalf of larger political aims.

New Zealand Deaf settings are particularly privileged places to explore how language embodies space because the spatial assumptions of different kinds of language used in the community, including signing and lip-speaking, vary greatly. Signing can be used in a wide variety of spaces while lip-speaking needs close proximity and very clear lines of sight.

Let me give a few simple examples of what I mean by "assumptions about space." In spoken language, such assumptions are reflected, among other ways, in choices about volume, duration of sound production and preciseness of pronunciation. In the house I grew up in, we would all stand at the bottom of the stairs and

yell "Diiiiinnneeerrrr" to alert people on the third floor that supper was about to be served. We assumed we would not be heard across two flights of stairs unless we changed the normal pronunciation of "Dinner" considerably.

Similar linguistic adjustments are found in sign languages. When she analyzed an American Sign Language (ASL) lecture, June Zimmer found that

the signing space often extends considerably beyond [typical]...boundaries. In addition to being larger, signs in the lecture are also executed more slowly. Individual signs are of longer duration, and final holds are longer (1989, p. 260).

These particular adjustments reflect an assumption of a large, probably captive audience.

The relationship between language and space, however, is bi-directional. Not only do people adjust language to communicate effectively within given spatial limitations, they also manipulate space as part of the communicative process. Adam Kendon (1990) describes what he calls "F-formations": the patterns people take up when they are talking with each other. When analyzing a film of a small group of hearing people standing at a birthday party, Kendon found that "the move of one appears to be compensated for by the move of another, so that the net effect is that the arrangement is maintained"(p. 217). He notes, however, that when people are seated, that "active cooperation maintenance is not observed. The function of keeping participants arranged is taken over by the furniture"(p. 216). Choosing seats, therefore, becomes an exercise which both predicts and shapes interaction patterns.

In Deaf settings, space constraints revolve around the ability to see each other. Patterns (F-formations) made in such situations are quite different from those made by hearing people with each other. A circle where everybody is within sight of each other, for example, is a common F-formation in Deaf settings. On the basis of their findings in an American Deaf pre-school, Robert Johnson and Carol Erting hypothesized that

because of the visual demands of sign language reception, it is quite possible that deaf children choose to sit across from favored affiliates in order to enhance communication, rather than sit next them as we expect for hearing children (1989, p. 62).

In this paper, however, I will argue that the difference between this Deaf pattern and typical Western hearing seating patterns arises not because of a different way of interacting with a 'favored affiliate' but because of different cultural assumptions about the nature of interactions in group situations which are directly influenced by the F-formations possible in sign language contexts.

This study will look at two sets of seating pattern data, that from the Mothers Club and seating data that I have reanalyzed from the above mentioned study by

Johnson and Erting (1989). The Mothers Club is a particularly rich site to examine because of the tremendous amount of language variation at the club. The forms of language used, like those of the NZ Deaf community as whole, are strongly influenced by when and where people attended school. The New Zealand Deaf education system was strictly oralist until 1975. Children were expected to learn how to speak and read lips. The later in time one attended school, however, the more likely one was to learn how to sign fluently from Deaf schoolmates.

When I analyzed seating patterns at the Mothers Club, my hypothesis was that the more oral members would have different seating patterns because the constraints of being able to see lip movements are different from those of seeing larger signs. Oral language did seem to affect seating patterns but not in such a direct way. Instead, a separate Deaf group-oriented pattern seemed to be the most typical, and oral language seems to be a factor only in the limited situations. When members were close friends but didn't share a common sign language, they sat next to each other making communication by lip-spoken English (which they do have in common) much easier.

The specifics of the background to the New Zealand Deaf education system, including its influence on language use, and how this study was conducted will be discussed below in Section 2. Section 3 presents the analysis of seating data from New Zealand and my reanalysis of Johnson and Erting's American preschool data. Section 4, the conclusion, lays out some of the specific implications for language use in NZ and in other Deaf communities that we can draw by extending inferences about language from seating data and contrasts the implications of one-on-one relationships with group relationships.

2. BACKGROUND

As discussed above, language use in the NZ Deaf community is closely related to schooling. Where a member of the Mothers Club went to school and the nature of that schooling, therefore, needs to be known in order to understand her language use and seating patterns. This section presents a general historical overview of NZ Deaf schools and the larger Deaf community, particularly Deaf clubs (see also Monaghan, 1996; Monaghan & Turner, 1997). I also present some brief ethnographic background on the Mothers Club itself and discuss how this study was conducted. It is these details that will allow me to connect the bare bones of seating statistics to ideas of culturally specific ideas of space and the nature of interaction. This work is just one part of a larger linguistic and ethnographic study of the New Zealand Deaf community based on fieldwork done from January to October, 1992 and in July and August of 1996.

The first school for deaf, Sumner School in Christchurch, was founded in 1880 and was profoundly affected by international (particularly European) support for oralism. Sir Julius Vogel, head of the committee in charge of selecting a

principal for Sumner School argued that with oralism: deaf mutes may be able to compensate themselves largely for the loss of hearing and speech....[but with signing] there is a far greater danger...that deaf mutes...by congregating together, should in many cases increase the natural and inevitable disadvantages arising from their affliction (Vogel 1879 in Allen 1980, p. 11).

Despite this heavy emphasis on oralism and the acceptance by some members of the importance of learning how to speak, signing still arose in the Deaf community.

As signing was developed underground at each school, kinds of signing in New Zealand vary according to which school or schools people attended and when they attended. Dan Levitt (1986) listed the school his signing models attended and the current New Zealand Sign Language dictionary has checked each sign in the dictionary with older, middle-aged and younger signing cohorts.

Important divisions between signers include those who attended school before 1940, including Sumner and Myers Park, a day school in Auckland; between 1940 and 1960, when there were three major boarding schools, Sumner, Titirangi in Auckland and St. Dominic's, a Catholic school; and after 1960, when mainstreaming was introduced. The pre-1940 cohort is widely seen as being strongly oral, with a lot of mouth movement and some signs (e.g. colors like RED, BLUE, GREEN) being distinguished from a set of words with the same manual sign only by information on the lips. The language used by the post-1940 cohort at Sumner, Titirangi and Mt. Wellington (also in Auckland), and St. Dominic's, reflects a creolized form of NZSL, still influenced by oralism but with more fluent signing. Like creoles elsewhere, this form of NZSL was learned quite early (although usually not from birth as most children were not exposed to it until they came to school) and reflected richer grammatical inflection and vocabulary than the previous forms. Unlike spoken language creoles, however, it didn't reflect the unequal combination of two or more previously existing spoken languages. NZSL is instead a systematic mixing of invented, often iconic, signs used with grammatical features common to many sign languages and spoken English influences (see Hudson, 1996 for a discussion of creoles and Bellugi & Klima, 1980 for iconicity in sign languages). Students who went to school after 1960 had a variety of influences, including the creolized language of previous generations, and experience in Deaf units and mainstream classrooms.

By the 1970s, it was apparent even to the education authorities that oralism wasn't working. Since New Zealand Sign Language, the language of local adult Deaf people, wasn't recognized, a coalition of Deaf community members, parents and teachers worked for the acceptance of a signed English system from Australia for use in the schools. Australasian Signed English uses Australian Sign Language signs in English grammatical order, adds morphemes for English morphemes such as "s" and "ed," and is supposed to be done at the same time as spoken English. The acceptance of signed English, however, has since lead to the recognition and acceptance of the autochthonous sign language (NZSL) of the NZ Deaf commu-

nity.

Although New Zealand Sign Language first developed in NZ's deaf schools, NZSL was maintained at Deaf clubs across the country. The first Deaf club was started in 1926. A group of Sumner graduates met at a friend's house and decided to formalize the ties between them by starting a club. The activities were social, and included card games and sports. Other clubs were started in Auckland and Wellington at the end of the 1930s. Clubs are a major feature of general New Zealand social life and are often officially recognized by the government.

The Mothers Club is relatively informal. It is a women's group that meets regularly, usually every two weeks, to play games and socialize. It started approximately 15 years ago as a daytime activity for mothers of small children. The children have grown, but the women have continued to meet. Each time a different member hosts the gathering at her house. Turns to host and themes such as "kitchen" or "food" are designated up to six months ahead of time. A number of activities are economic in nature, including a raffle and sales of old clothes. The proceeds of these go towards paying for Christmas (a summer holiday in NZ) or Mid-Winter dinners at a nice restaurant for all active members. These meetings have much in common with other Deaf clubs and New Zealand hearing women's activities. All members, for example, are required to "bring a plate," a potluck dish, such as sandwiches or a dessert, a common NZ practice (Park, 1989). For the core members of the group, the Mothers Club is a key context where friendships are enacted and maintained.

Taking notes is an important part of the activities of the club and is the responsibility of the president. The president keeps track in writing of upcoming hosts of the meetings, money collected and attendance. The analysis below is based on seating information derived from xeroxed attendance lists from 57 meetings from 1990 to 1992 and a videotape of one meeting recorded in 1992. The videotape shows how attendance was taken—the president went counter-clockwise around the room, writing down names of people as they gave her money for the week. As members don't always give money in order, the attendance lists aren't a perfect representation of the seating patterns but they are a near representation. Thirty different women attended over this two year period, but the seating patterns of only the twelve most frequently attending are closely examined below.

The backgrounds of the women in the club are diverse. The twelve most frequent attendees ranged in age from their 30s to late 70s. Ten were raised in New Zealand and went to various schools including Sumner, Myers Park and Titirangi while two were originally from England. England also has had a long history of oral deaf schools so all members sign, lip-speak and lip-read, although some are more signing or oral than others. The two British members and eight of ten Zealanders were white while two New Zealanders were Maori.

In the analysis below, less frequently attending members were divided into two groups—four women who attended between 14 and 19 times were collapsed into a category referred to as "Frequent," while the remaining 14 who attended dix

nine times or less were categorized as "Infrequent" and have been included in the analysis as part of these categories rather than as individuals. When calculating seating patterns, I also made a decision to not list women sitting at the top or bottom of the list as sitting next to the person at the bottom or top of list, which they probably were as people sat in a circle. Future analysis of this material should probably calculate frequencies assuming circularity as well.

Table I is a sample seating pattern, taken from the videotaped meeting showing "seating partners," people sitting next to each other, while Table II indicates the discrepancies between number of times attending and seating partners for each member. As people sat in a circle, each woman would have sat next to two people each time. Since the data was taken from linear lists, however, only a woman never at the top or bottom of the list would have exactly double the number of seating partners as appearances. None do so; everyone was at the top or bottom of the list at least some of the time.

3. THE DATA AND DATA ANALYSIS

In this section, I present the seating data from the Mothers Club and an analysis of its implications as well as my reanalysis of the Johnson and Erting (1989) data and its implications. These two sets of data show that there are strong commonalities across these quite different Deaf situations.

3.1 The Mothers Club

As can be seen on the videotape of the meeting, all the members of the Mothers Club have both sign language and lip-spoken English in their repertoire. There is variation, however, in how much signing, how large the signing is and how much information must be read from the lips to in order to understand the signing. As expected from schooling background, older members often used a lot of English lip speech and some spoken English. Not only is there variation between speakers, however, but there is also intra-speaker variation. Some of this was connected to spatial assumptions. As in Zimmer (1989), language used between people sitting beside each other was different, often in a smaller signing space, than that used with people across the room. Certain people also seem to code-switch depending on the kind of language that their conversation partners typically use.

This bilingualism means that members could choose from a minimum of two different patterns, signing and lip-speaking; seating patterns give us an unusual view into premeditated choices between these varieties. In order to lip-read each other, people need to be in close proximity. Sitting next to each other, therefore, would be the most convenient pattern for lip-reading.

A summary of seating data for the Mothers Club is presented in Table IV. A number of statistically significant relationships were found (positively statistically significant relationships are marked in bold. For the full calculations see Appen-

1). The chi-square (X^2) with 121 degrees of freedom (df) was 324.2. The probability of this occurring randomly is substantially less than 0.1% ($p < .001$). On the other hand, while the overall pattern was significant, the *majority* of choices made about seating could have occurred due to random chance.

1) For four women, Ada, Isobel, Jane and Lola¹, all of their choices of seating partners could be described as random. These women came from widely different backgrounds. All are white and Ada, Isobel and Lola are New Zealanders. Ada was in her 60s and went to Myers Park and Titirangi, Isobel was in her late 70s and went to Sumner before 1940, Lola was in her 40s or 50s. Jane is British and was in her 70s.

2) Another pattern is that four women, Barbara, Gwen, Harriet and Kate, were part of a group of friends. Each sat significantly frequently with at least two of the others (See Table IIIa). Three of these women, Barbara, Gwen and Harriet, went to Titirangi at approximately the same time (entering between 1947 and 1949). The group also includes both Maori women, Harriet and Kate, who attend regularly. A third member, Gwen, is the wife of a Maori man and participates regularly in Deaf Maori activities. Kate, the only one who didn't attend Titirangi was, like the others, in her late 40s.

3) A third pattern applies to the last four of the 12 most regular attendees. Each of these women sat consistently with only one other person: Cathy and Fran with each other, and Dana and Eileen with each other. The great majority of each of these women's seating choices were random, but each sat next to one other person often enough to get a probability of $p < .001$ that it could happen by chance (see Table IIIb). This could be considered the "best friend" phenomenon. The most striking aspect of these friendships, however, is that they happen between women who differ in age and in the schools they went to. Fran went to Sumner before 1940 while Cathy went to Titirangi after 1940. Dana and Eileen are even more divergent. Dana is the youngest member of the club, a NZer in her 30s, while Eileen was British and in her 60s. Dana and Cathy also have a negatively significant relationship ($p < .05$)—they never sat next to each other—but this might be an artifact of the highly significant relationships both have with others. In addition to sitting next to Eileen, Dana also sat regularly with members of the "Frequent" group.

4) The fourth pattern (Table IIIc) involves those members who weren't amongst the top twelve attendees. Both the Frequent and the Infrequent groups sat statistically significantly often with members of their respective groups indicating either that they formed separate groups of their own or that they were in some way excluded from the main group of members. The exception to this is that Dana sat significantly often with the Frequent attendees.

3.2 Some hypotheses about language and space in New Zealand

3.2.1 In the Mothers Club, and as will be discussed below in the American pre-school classroom, the predominant seating pattern is a random one. In the I

Mothers Club, four women have consistently random patterns while the others have at least some patterns random. This implies a different pattern for most interactions than the classic white female one-on-one interactions described by Maltz and Borker (1982) and Deborah Tannen (1990) in the United States and Jenny Chesire (1982) and Jennifer Coates (1996) in England.

Girls play in small groups, most often in pairs...., and their play groups tend to be remarkably homogeneous in terms of age.... The idea of "best friend" is central for girls. Relationships between girls are to some extent in opposition to one another, and new relationships are often formed at the expense of old ones (Maltz & Borker, [1982] 1996, p. 88).

The contrast between the behavior of Mothers Club members and this model supports the idea of a Deaf cultural focus on the general group rather than on individual friendships. The random seating patterns found in both data sets and the common phenomenon of Deaf people talking across the room makes us re-think not only our assumptions about who sits with whom but also the implications of that seating. Deaf interactions seem to be assume a larger group than typical western middle class female interactions.²

This also implies a different motivation for attending an event. Members can come to a meeting like that of the Mothers Club to associate with the general group rather than with just a best friend. In a study of hearing children in a New Zealand elementary school, I found that attendance was closely connected to popularity (Monaghan 1988) and it is probably safe to assume these women wouldn't attend the Mothers Club regularly unless they felt welcome and accepted. For the case of Ada, Isobel, Jane and Lola, it would be a general rather than a specific acceptance.

3.2.2 Similar to this group-focused pattern is that shown by the group of four women who consistently sat near each other (Table IIIa). Each sat with at least two of the others with probabilities between $p < .05$ and $p < .001$. There are two important connections between these women that might influence language use. First, three of the four women (Harriet, Gwen and Barbara) went to Titirangi and Mt. Wellington together in the late 1940s and 1950s. Second, two of the women (Harriet and Kate) are Maori and a third, (Gwen), is the wife of a Deaf Maori man also from Titirangi and Mt. Wellington. Two of the four (Harriet and Kate) were present at the videotaped meeting and both signed in a space larger than most other members and used relatively little mouthed English (although Harriet did vocalize while signing). Specific nouns and verbs were mouthed but most of the grammatical and affective information was signed. In the other situations in which I've seen her, Gwen also signs in a manner similar to Harriet and Kate. This kind of signing would correspond to the signing of fluent American Sign Language users. This makes sense in the context of the fact that all of these four women come from the post-WWII generation who had access to a more creolized version of NZSL.

I have mentioned the “best friend” pattern of typical female white Western relationships. This foursome’s pattern might reflect a separate Maori-influenced pattern of interaction, more group oriented than that of traditional Western female models.

In general the play groups of children tend to be as large as possible.... Usually groups of children seen playing at home or at school are about six in number or larger....

Behavior in the play group is subject to a minimum of adult interference and thus the patterns of the children are determined almost entirely by the standards of the children (Earle, 1958, pp. 26-27).

These large group patterns are closely connected to sibling care-taking practices which are in turn connected to large family size (Earle, 1958; Ritchie, 1963). They are also related to the importance of the extended family, “whanau,” in Maori culture (Metge, [1967] 1976; Hazlehurst, 1993, see also Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Ochs, 1988 for a Samoan example).

Part of the change in signing styles between the pre-World War II and post-WWII generations might be attributed to the large jump in the number of Maori and other Polynesian children at school - particularly at the Auckland schools, Titirangi, Mt. Wellington and Kelston. In 1956, for example, at least seven of the fifteen members of the Mt. Wellington boys’ Football Team and five of the eleven of the girls’ Basketball Team were Polynesian (Aspden, de Vere, Hunt, Monaghan & Pivac, 1992). The peer-oriented Polynesian culture of children’s home life might have combined with the peer-oriented culture of the Deaf schools to further increase distance from teachers and the development of the creolized version of NZSL. Over forty years later, these patterns seem to show up both in seating pattern choices and language use. Another implication is that studies of use of space of people from Polynesian language-speaking backgrounds should reveal a different use of space than that found for Americans (particularly for women).

3.2.3 Two examples of one-on-one relationships typical of Western female patterns, however, do show up in seating data. Two pairs of women consistently sat next to each other - Cathy with Fran and Eileen with Dana (Table IIIb). Unlike the young girls described in Maltz and Borker ([1982] 1996), however, these women come from widely varying backgrounds. These “best friends” are different ages and from different schools, therefore also from different linguistic backgrounds.

My argument here is that these women are all seating themselves to easily communicate by the use of lip-speaking and drawing upon hearing Western models typical of women in the larger New Zealand hearing society. Both Fran and Cathy are very oral so lip-speaking would be likely in this situation. Dana and Eileen are from radically different backgrounds. Dana signs fluently but on the videotape can be seen adding clear English lip movements for Eileen and another

British member. Lip-speaking would be the choice of communication here because the spoken English these women have access to is more standardized than any sign system in this setting. In order to do this lip-speaking and lip-reading, these best friend pairs recreate the kind of spatial relationships that Maltz and Borker ([1982] 1996) describe as female best friends in childhood as having.

3.2.4 The final set of statistically significant patterns are Frequent attendees with each other and Infrequent attendees with each other (Table IIIc). The striking part about these patterns is that they throw light on how “the group” is defined in the above interactions. Although I have been arguing that Deaf patterns favor more general group interaction, these patterns show that the group is not automatic but instead is the result of a constructed set of relationships. The fact that these Frequent and Infrequent attendees (all of whom come less often than the twelve named members) interact with each other more often than with anybody else could indicate that they hadn’t yet been fully accepted as members of the club, the general group that members orient to.

3.3 Johnson and Erting reanalyzed

Johnson and Erting’s (1989) work in an American Deaf pre-school class further illuminates the nature of group relationships in Deaf contexts. Although they found that interaction patterns for signing Deaf children were different from those of hearing children, due to an error in calculation, they found that seating patterns of the eight children they looked at were not statistically significant. When I reanalyzed this data I found that the seating pattern was significant ($X^2 = 166.7$, 100df, $p < .001$). As with the Mothers Club, the majority of the relationships were random (see Table V for a summary and Appendix II for full calculations).

The reanalyzed figures support other interaction patterns found by Johnson and Erting.

When the children are grouped according to skill in ASL...The interaction patterns show substantial preference for group A children [fluent ASL signers] to interact with other group A children, for group B [less fluent signers] to interact with other group B children, and for each group not to interact with the other.

Johnson and Erting, therefore, considered ASL fluency more important than other factors, including whether students had deaf parents or not in determining the nature of interactions in the classroom:

the data...indicate clear differences in communication patterns between those children we would expect to be ethnically Deaf [including fluent ASL use] and those whom we did not. Moreover, the data suggest differences in the ways in which the Deaf adult interacts with the two categories of children, presumably also the result of the values and expectations associated with Deaf ethnic patrimony (1989, pp. 64-5).

Part of what Johnson and Erting call Deaf ethnic patrimony (Deaf cultural values) seems to include a focus on the general group rather than individual relationships. When their seating data are analyzed (see Table V), most subject's overall seating patterns and the overwhelming majority of relationships in the classroom are within the bounds of chance.

This fits with my analysis of the Mothers Club's patterns. The children who most reflect a Deaf cultural background, those with both Deaf parents and fluent ASL, again seem to focus on a general group in the way that hearing speakers of American or New Zealand English don't. The broad access to information is again used as a building block for an emphasis on the group, as it is in the Mothers Club.

Exceptions again seem to prove rules. In this classroom data, exceptions can be seen as reflections of some aspect of hearing culture and/or the physical requirements of English. Although the entire matrix was strongly statistically significant ($p < .001$), only three of twelve participants have patterns that exceed the X^2 of 18.3 required for significance of $p < .05$ at 10 df. These are highlighted in bold in Table V. Two of the three people showing these patterns are H, the hearing teacher, and T, the student who depends most heavily on oral English.

It also appears that T, who has a fair amount of residual hearing, has been able to develop a primary competence in oral English. In interacting with the hearing adults, she depends heavily on her hearing to understand. Also, she has some difficulty understanding ASL as the other children use it. This may, in part account for her relative isolation from the other children (except J) and her tendency to sit next to the teacher (1989, p. 79).

This relationship between T and H is the most statistically significant of any in the classroom, $X^2 = 11.77$ for H, 11.37 for T, both $p < .001$, 10 df.

The other person with a significant pattern of relationships, L, is another interesting exception to the rule—she is the only child of hearing parents in the group of fluent ASL signers. What is particularly striking about her pattern of interaction is that no one relationship is significant with her, but she consistently sits more often than chance with all the children of Deaf parents, including J, the least fluent signer of this group. L perhaps can be described as using a hearing strategy of sitting by people she wants to affiliate with to achieve the Deaf cultural aim of interaction with a group of peers.

There are also two specific pair relationships that are moderately or mildly significant on both sides, that between R and Sc and that between P and Su. In each case this is a same sex pairing between an ASL-fluent child of Deaf parents and a less fluent child of hearing parents. R is male, and a fluent signer while Sc is male and non-fluent ($R p < .01$, $Sc p < .005$). P and Su are female, and P is the fluent signer and Su is the less fluent signer ($P \& Su$ both $p < .05$). There again seems to be a hearing strategy of sitting near people influencing these relationships. The only other significant relationship was between F and L, F being another fluent signer of Deaf parents while L was the child of hearing parents mentioned above

as sitting noticeably more often with children from Deaf families. F didn't attend very often ($n=28$) during the period of the study, and this skews the results: the eight times they sat together is unlikely due to chance with $p<.05$ for F, while it is only $p<.1$ for L, not considered significant. Still, this is a continuation of the pattern of children from hearing families sitting next to those from Deaf families.

It is interesting to note that information about appropriate seating patterns would be something a Deaf child of hearing parents could pick up from their families—it is an aspect of behavior easily seen. It also dovetails with the main thrust of Johnson and Erting's argument, that Deaf classrooms are places of key sites of socialization into Deaf culture. As such, the fluent signers are the high prestige individuals in the classroom. The children of hearing families here seem to be using the strategies they are familiar with—like sitting near role models—in order to aid their own socialization processes. The Deaf focus on inclusion does not exclude these children despite their different language abilities.

Charles Reilly's study of a Thai deaf boarding school showed that children clearly recognized that other children went through a language learning process, entering incompetent but progressing through stages until they could tell stories that would hold large audiences (1996). These American pre-school children can be seen as in the middle of the process of going from outsiders (as in the Frequent and Infrequent group in the Mothers Club) to insiders.

4. CONCLUSION

[Among some peoples] group spatial configuration seems to be an almost projective representation of the social structure (Levi-Strauss [1953] 1988, p. 436).

As we shall see, the difference between institutional settings (such as the *fono*) and everyday settings lies not so much in the use of [specific] linguistic strategies...but in the range of participants who have access to such strategies as well as in the more immediate response that they evoke (Duranti, 1994, p. 147).

It is often said, too glibly, I think, that female friendship in adolescence is a dry run for later heterosexual relationships. In my view, the more straightforward claim would be that female friendships in adolescence are simply a dry run for later close relationships of all kinds, and that they constitute the first episode in the saga of female friendship which runs through our lives (Coates, 1996, p. 16).

As Duranti (1994) points out, the use of space is a key part of creating institutions. Levi-Strauss's ([1953] 1988) group spatial configuration isn't just a projective representation of the social structure, it is part of how a structure is created. The seating patterns of the members of the Mothers Club and the pre-school children are part of creating social organizations with meaning that extend beyond the

immediate contexts that these groups exist within. In this conclusion, I'd like to briefly summarize some of the implications of the findings of this paper and then explore some of the political ramifications. In doing so, I will connect both seating patterns and related language use with the larger sociocultural milieu they are part of.

The direct conclusions that can be drawn from this work include:

- 1) The most important pattern that emerges from both the Mothers Club and the American pre-school seating data is the general random pattern, reflecting an emphasis on the group and a range of interactions rather than exclusive one-on-one interactions. Contrary to Julius Vogel's desire to prevent New Zealand Deaf children from associating with each other, members of the Mothers Club not only associate with each other but do so in a way that is characteristically Deaf, so much so that it is also reflected in patterns of American Deaf pre-school kids.
- 2) Sign language is the language of this group interaction in both New Zealand and the United States. There is a wider variety of different kinds of language in the Mothers Club than there is in the pre-school but in both cases the most fluent versions were connected to an emphasis on a group audience. This use of sign language as the key medium in group interaction fits with Johnson & Erting's emphasis on the importance of ASL both in the pre-school and the more general socialization into Deaf culture.
- 3) In New Zealand, the emphasis on group interactions is also connected to a Maori and general Polynesian emphasis on peer group interactions. In the US pre-school, the Deaf children of Deaf parents seem to be the most important influence.
- 4) The use of lip-spoken and spoken English create the exceptions to the general group focus of both the Mothers Club and the pre-school. In New Zealand, friends without a common sign language but sharing the ability to lip-read English, sit next to each other, while in the US, spoken English is used by the child who was the least fluent user of ASL in the classroom. This led T to focus on interacting with the hearing teacher. In my work in a hearing NZ classroom (Monaghan, 1987), this focus on teacher-student interactions this was a clearly dispreferred strategy used only by the most unpopular of children.

Two further, indirect conclusions can also be drawn from the data about the sociopolitical ramifications of these patterns:

- 5) Elinor Ochs (1992) discusses how entire discourses, such as that between mothers and children, index gender. In White Western cultures such as those found in many communities in New Zealand, the United States and England, the use of space can also be considered to index gender. The women of the Mothers Club had two models available to them, that of the general Deaf group interaction and that of one-on-one spoken-English. Communication by lip-speaking heightens constraints on who can see and understand and so prevents other, more general forms of interaction, but among women isn't a heavily dispreferred option. It is interesting that the only child to rely on spoken English, T, is female.

This one-on-one pattern seems more problematic for males. In New Zealand,

I found that Deaf and Hard of Hearing men in their twenties and thirties who had been mainstreamed participated in a variety of Deaf community activities to get the kind of group, particularly male group, interactions they said they couldn't get among hearing peers. In "A Man's Country?", Jock Phillips (1986) describes the importance of these relationships to men. The traditional imbalance between male and female roles reflected in the phrase "man and wife" is perhaps related to this difference in emphasis. Compare the emphasis on male-male relationships with Coates's description of English women's friendships.

Women friends have high expectations of each other, but they often have to accept second place in each others affections, with first place belonging to a male sexual partner. Significantly, when asked about the term *best friend*, many women said it was a childish phrase which they associated with childhood, not with adult life, and two of the (married) women named their husband as their best friend (Coates, 1996, p. 32).

The Deaf women in the Mothers Club and other women emphasizing group ties offer different patterns to the emphasis on exclusivity.

6) Any use of space and the kinds of relationships that are built with these spaces have strong political implications. This is related to Duranti's distinction between ordinary and political talk, which varies by the "range of participants who have access to such strategies as well as in the more immediate response that they evoke" (1994, p. 147). The classic Western female best friend scenario brings strength on one level but is limiting on another level. Political organizations are institutionalized group relationships. The training for intense one-on-one friendships doesn't necessarily unite women. Particularly today, women not only have these one-on-one friendships—Coates presents groups of two, three, four and five women. Five women reflect far more connections, and therefore political resources than one-on-one. The strength and warmth of these group connections are apparent in the way she describes the Oxtou 'Ladies,' her own "support network of friends" (1996, p. 3).

Even the largest group described by Coates, however, is less than the "at least six" that Margaret Earle (1958) describes as being typical of Maori children's play groups. The Mothers Club, which had an average of 8.65 members present over the 57 days of this study, is therefore perhaps atypical of white Western women's groups, and has an unusual, although unacknowledged, power because of it.

On the other hand, the power in the Samoan *fono* is acknowledged. The *fono* is seen as being a place where ordinary conversation, ordinary strategies become something more meaningful, a place where words get converted into actions. The Mothers Club isn't seen as being out of the ordinary but the patterns reflected in seating arrangements show the potential for something more, for a group that can organize in other ways.

These ties of friendship and bonds between classmates extend beyond the

immediate social circumstances and help us understand the important social achievements of Deaf communities in New Zealand and the United States. Sign language (Australasian Signed English) was introduced into schools in 1975 because of the strong backing of a unified Deaf community, and teachers and parents of deaf children. The core of the support came from Deaf clubs across New Zealand—organizations slightly more formal than the Mothers Club but often similar in intent and function. The next step, the official recognition and acceptance of New Zealand Sign Language, was lead by Deaf Clubs when the weaknesses of a system that didn't teach children the language of adults in the community became apparent to all.

In the United States, the 1987 Gallaudet University student strike, protesting the nomination of a hearing person with no experience with the Deaf community to the Gallaudet presidency, was also made possible because of just such a focus on a large and interconnected community. The foundations of this community are apparent in the seating patterns of children as young as the pre-schoolers studied by Johnson and Erting (1989).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Doreen Powell and Pauline Sedon and to the many very gracious and welcoming members of the Auckland Mothers Club. Thank you. My research was supported by grants from the English Speaking Union of Los Angeles and a small grant from the UCLA Department of Anthropology while writing was supported by my parents, Charles and E. Jennifer Monaghan. Thanks also to Don Brenneis, Stephen Levine, Lee Munroe, Tanya Stivers and Shana Walton for helpful discussion, insightful comments and very useful advice of the statistical aspects of this paper. Any faults that remain are my own.

TABLES

Table I: Sample seating pattern

Most participants sat on chairs, and would turn to face whoever they were talking to. L, C and A were sitting on a sofa in front of a low coffee table. D was sitting on a low stool and also had her daughter with her, who would wander around the room. M, the hostess, was standing for most of the meeting.

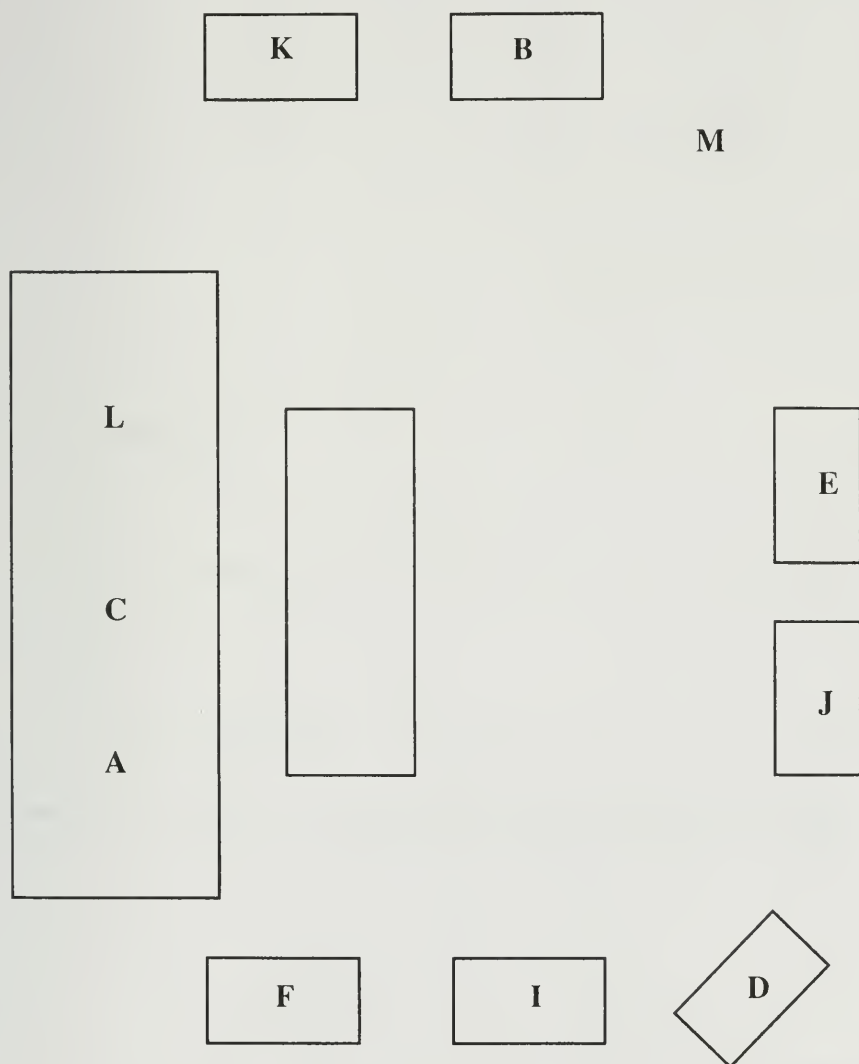
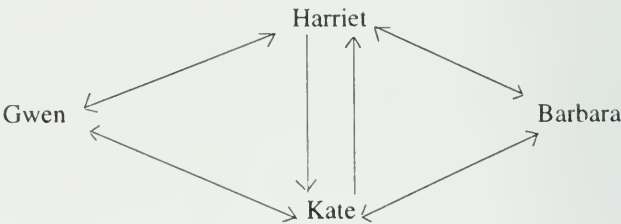


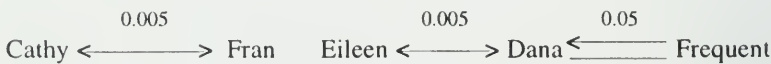
Table II: Attendance and Seating Partners

Person	Times	Partners
A	43	82
B	26	49
C	49	95
D	18	33
E	42	76
F	53	96
G	35	61
H	41	72
I	43	82
J	26	49
K	34	58
L	21	39
Frequent	35	64
Infrequent	28	46
Total	493	902

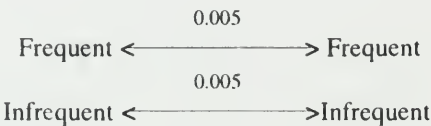
Table III: Individual Patterns



IIIa: Four-way relationship between Harriet, Gwen, Kate, and Barbara.



IIIb: Significance of "best friend" relationships and Dana's relationship with the frequent attendees. All numbers are probabilities, e.g., $p < .05$.



IIIc: Relationship within Frequent and Infrequent groups

Table IV: Significance of seating patterns at Mothers Club

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	Freq	lnfreq	X ²	df
		82	49	95	33	76	96	61	72	82	49	58	39	64	46		
A	82		8	8	1	5	14	6	6	11	7	4	5	5	2	11.4	12
B	49	8		4	1	1	3	7	9	3	0	11	0	2	0	40.0	12
C	95	8	4		0	14	26	4	5	9	9	4	5	6	1	36.5	12
D	33	1	1	0		11	3	1	0	3	0	2	1	6	4	42.0	12
E	76	5	1	14	11		8	5	3	12	2	1	7	5	2	41.9	12
F	96	14	3	26	3	8		7	4	11	7	3	3	3	4	31.4	12
G	61	6	7	4	1	5	7		10	2	4	10	0	3	2	24.4	12
H	72	6	9	5	0	3	4	10		8	4	10	4	3	6	25.3	12
I	82	11	3	9	3	12	11	2	8		7	5	4	5	2	10.1	12
J	49	7	0	9	0	2	7	4	4	7		1	2	4	2	10.0	12
K	58	4	11	4	2	1	3	10	10	5	1		2	2	3	40.6	12
L	39	5	0	5	1	7	3	0	4	4	2	2		2	4	12.2	12
Freq	64	5	2	6	6	5	3	3	3	5	4	2	2	14	4	31.4	13
lnfreq	46	2	0	1	4	2	4	2	6	2	2	3	4	4	10	41.0	13
902																398.2	144

Positively significant relationships are marked by **bold type**, while negatively significant are marked by underlining. Although the number of times A sat with B is the same as how many times B sat with A, both figures are included as significance may or may not be the same (see Appendix I).

Table V: Original values of seating patterns from Johnson & Erting (1989).

		R	P	L	F	SC	SU	T	J	H	D	X	Y	X2	df
	a b >	56	51	58	28	47	47	39	53	32	23	8	2		
	v														
R	56		10	10	4	14	7	6	6	3	5	1	0	11.05	10
P	51	10		10	3	7	11	1	2	1	5	1	0	16.75	10
L	58	10	10		8	<u>1</u>	5	<u>1</u>	13	4	3	2	1	19.81	10
F	28	4	3	8		3	3	2	2	2	0	1	0	7.31	10
SC	47	14	7	<u>1</u>	3		6	4	8	1	2	1	0	16.46	10
SU	47	7	11	5	3	6		3	3	6	1	2	0	10.73	10
T	39	6	1	1	2	4	3		9	9	4	0	0	24.47	10
J	53	6	2	13	2	8	3	9		6	3	0	1	16.53	10
H	32	3	1	4	2	1	6	9	6		0	0	0	21.33	10
D	23	5	5	3	0	2	1	4	3	0		0	0	9.55	10
X	8	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0		0	5.54	10
Y	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		7.22	10
	444													155.7	100

Positively significant relationships are marked by **bold type**, while negatively significant are marked by underlining.

Numbers used were from the body of the chart. Although the number of times A sat with B is the same as how many times B sat with A, both figures are included as significance may or may not be the same (see Appendix II).

Appendix I: Significance of seating patterns at Mothers Club

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	Freq	Infreq	X ²	df
	82	49	95	33	76	96	61	72	82	49	38	39	64	46		
A		8	8	1	5	14	6	6	11	7	4	5	5	2	11.4	12
		4.9	9.5	3.3	7.6	9.6	6.1	7.2	8.2	4.9	5.8	3.9	6.4	4.6		
		1.96122449	0.236842105	1.603030303	0.889473684	2.016666667	0.001639344	0.2	0.956097361	0.9	0.55862069	0.31025641	0.30625	1.469565217		
B	49		4	1	1	3	7	9	3	0	11	0	2	0	40.0	12
		4.710433763	5.457209848	1.895662368	4.365767878	5.514654162	3.504103165	4.135990621	4.710433763	2.814771395	3.331770223	2.240328253	3.676436108	2.642438453		
		2.297292897	0.389111029	0.423182467	2.594822658	1.146669948	3.487709723	5.720174295	6.621085829	2.814771395	17.64880048	2.240328253	0.764446312	2.642438453		
C	95	8		0	14	26	4	5	9	9	4	5	6	1	36.5	12
		9.653035936	5.768277571		3.884758364	8.946716233	11.30111524	7.180916976	8.475836431	9.653035936	5.768277571	6.827757125	4.591078067	7.534076828	5.41511772	
		0.283074446	0.542069193		3.884758364	2.854195457	19.1182205	1.409044673	1.425397835	0.044178426	1.810597657	1.171132806	0.636422196	0.312366301	3.599785912	
D	33	1	0		11	3	1	0	3	0	2	1	6	4	42.0	12
		3.113924051	1.860759494	3.607594937	2.886075949	3.64556962	2.316455696	2.734177215	3.113924051	1.860759494	2.202531646	1.481012658	2.40379747	1.746835443		
		1.435062262	0.39817446	3.607594937	22.81151455	0.11431962	0.748149685	2.734177215	0.004167953	1.860759494	0.0186236	0.156226333	5.242879747	2.906255733		
E	76	5	1	14	11		5	3	12	2	1	7	5	2	41.9	12
		7.544794189	4.508474576	8.740920097	3.036319613	8.832929782	5.612399709	6.624697337	7.544794189	4.508474576	5.336561743	3.588377724	5.888619855	4.232445521		
		0.858337193	2.730279088	3.164188795	20.88719681	0.078543817	0.066861722	1.983249968	2.63801891	1.395692621	3.523948313	3.243573405	0.134096828	1.177525612		
F	96	14	3	26	3		8	7	4	11	7	3	3	4	31.4	12
		9.76674938	8.836228288	11.31513648	9.930521092	9.052109181	7.265508685	8.575682382	9.76674938	5.836228288	6.908188586	4.64516129	7.622828784	5.478908189		
		1.834838811	1.378301215	19.05811893	0.220293819	0.12228462	0.009702674	2.441423123	0.155722957	0.232061621	2.01099031	0.582661629	2.803492847	0.399198044		
G	61	6	7	4	1	5		10	2	4	10	0	3	2	24.4	12
		5.947681332	3.554102259	6.890606421	2.393579073	5.512485137	6.96313912	5.22235434	5.947681332	3.554102259	4.206896552	2.828775268	4.642092747	3.336504162		
		0.004600262	3.340987593	1.212608147	0.811363474	0.047644757	0.000195131	4.370806067	2.620212319	0.05594234	7.977388355	2.828775268	0.580873484	0.535363748		
H	72	6	9	5	0	3	4	10	4	5	4	3	6	25.3	12	
		7.113233012	4.25060241	8.240963855	2.862650602	6.592771084	8.327710843	5.231566265	7.113233012	4.25060241	5.03132501	3.38313253	5.551807229	3.990561446		
		0.174228622	5.306724859	1.274589536	2.862650602	1.957902663	2.24900714	4.189562632	0.110542985	0.014774745	4.906804218	0.112477259	1.172900979	1.012100576		
I	82	11	3	9	3	12	11	2	8	7	3	5	2	10.1	12	
		8.2	4.9	9.5	3.3	7.6	9.6	6.1	7.2	4.9	5.8	3.9	6.4	4.6		
		0.956097561	0.736734694	0.026315789	0.027272727	2.547368421	0.204166667	2.755737705	0.088888889	0.9	0.110344828	0.002564103	0.30625	1.469565217		
J	49	7	0	9	0	2	7	4	7	1	2	0	2	10.0	12	
		4.710433763	2.814771395	5.457209848	1.895662368	4.365767878	5.514654162	3.504103165	4.710433763	3.331770223	2.240328253	3.676436108	2.642438453			
		1.112872788	2.814771395	2.299959579	1.895662368	0.400070828	0.070178776	0.004471347	1.112872788	1.631910969	0.0255780896	0.028476924	0.15619178			
K	58	4	11	4	2	1	3	10	5	1	2	2	3	40.6	12	
		5.63507109	3.367298578	6.528436019	2.267772512	5.222748815	6.597156398	4.919404128	4.947867299	5.63507109	3.367298578	2.680094787	4.398104265	3.161137441		
		0.474431897	17.30114798	0.979252716	0.031617862	3.41421887	1.961380536	0.8477286	5.158959268	0.071572352	1.66427254	0.172579314	1.307587024	0.008213903		
L	39	5	0	5	1	7	3	0	4	2	2	2	4	12.2	12	
		3.705677868	2.21436482	4.293163284	1.491309386	3.434530707	4.338354577	2.756662804	3.253769333	3.705677868	2.21436482	2.621089224	2.892236385	2.078794902		
		0.45208187	2.21436482	0.116375259	0.161881056	3.701399803	0.412873808	2.756662804	0.17114485	0.0233674	0.020752574	0.147172336	0.275249205	1.775561903		
Frequent	64	5	2	6	6	5	3	3	5	4	2	14	4	31.4	13	
		5.818181818	3.476718404	6.740576497	2.341464345	5.392461197	6.811529933	4.328156465	5.10864745	5.818181818	3.476718404	4.115299335	2.767184035	4.540109956	3.263858093	
		0.115056818	0.627228608	0.08136397	5.716443415	0.028563171	2.132818996	0.407565383	0.8703662	0.115056818	0.07875922	0.07875922	0.212696856	19.70312333	0.166032006	
Infrequent	46	2	0	1	4	2	4	2	6	2	3	4	10	41.0	13	
		4.181818182	2.498891353	4.844789357	1.682926829	3.875831486	4.89578714	3.110844745	3.671840355	4.181818182	2.498891353	2.957871397	1.988913525	3.263858093	2.345890004	
		1.138339921	2.498891353	3.05119668	3.190173206	0.907868099	0.163903082	0.396683853	1.476188181	1.138339921	0.099601202	0.006060033	2.033506614	0.166032006	24.97349725	

902

398.2 144

Positively significant relationships are marked by bold type, while negatively significant are marked by underlining.

Top number in each three part cell is number of actual occurrences (f), middle number is predicted frequency (F), bottom is X²F = ab/(Σa - a) for individuals, F = ab/Σa for groups (Σa = Σb) X² = Σ((f-F)/F)

Appendix II: Recalculation of significance of seating patterns from values from Johnson & Erting (1989).

	a	b	R	P	L	F	SC	SU	T	J	H	D	X	Y	X2	df
	56	51	58	28	47	39	53	32	23	8	2					
R	56		10	10	4	14	7	6	6	3	5	1	0			
			7.360824742	8.371134021	4.041237113	6.783505155	6.783505155	5.628865979	7.649484536	4.618556701	3.319587629	1.154639175	0.288659794			
			0.946258916	0.316946829	0.000420787	7.677121176	0.00690941	0.024470375	0.355683997	0.567217415	0.850643529	0.020710604	0.288659794		11.05504383	10
P	51		10	10	3	7	11	1	2	1	5	1	0			
			7.267175573	7.526717557	3.633587786	6.099236641	6.099236641	5.061068702	6.877862595	4.152671756	2.984732824	1.038167939	0.259541985			
			1.027679774	0.812721614	0.110478543	0.133028882	3.937784826	3.258655429	3.459438622	2.393480579	1.360691904	0.001403233	0.259541985		16.75409539	10
L	58		10	10	8	1	5	1	13	4	3	2	1			
			8.414507772	7.663212435	4.207253886	7.062176166	7.062176166	5.860103627	7.963730357	4.808290155	3.459585849	1.202072539	0.300518135			
			0.298744225	0.712570109	3.419076546	5.203775579	0.602161492	4.030749073	3.18494072	0.135876362	0.06015645	0.529658746	1.628104342		19.80581364	10
F	28		4	3	8	3	3	2	2	2	0	1	0			
			3.769230769	3.432692308	3.903846154	3.163461538	3.163461538	2.625	3.567307692	2.153846154	1.548076923	0.538461538	0.134615385			
			0.014128728	0.054541047	4.297934824	0.008446341	0.008446341	0.148809524	0.688601493	0.010989011	1.548076923	0.395604396	0.134615385		7.310194012	10
SC	47		14	7	1	3	6	4	8	1	2	1	0			
			6.629721922	6.037783375	6.866498741	3.314861461	5.564231738	4.617128463	6.274559194	3.788413098	2.722921914	0.947103275	0.236775819			
			8.193552709	0.153344493	5.01213337	0.029907054	0.034127619	0.082485801	0.474478905	2.052375864	0.19193209	0.002954338	0.236775819		16.46406806	10
SU	47		7	11	5	3	6	3	3	3	6	1	2	0		
			6.629722922	6.037783375	6.866498741	3.314861461	5.564231738	4.617128463	6.274559194	3.788413098	2.722921914	0.947103275	0.236775819			
			0.020680369	4.078250626	0.507364478	0.029907054	0.034127619	0.566391966	1.708922903	1.291072673	1.090174458	1.17050753	0.236775819		10.73417549	10
T	39		6	1	1	2	4	3	9	9	4	0	0			
			5.392592593	4.911111111	5.585185185	2.696296296	4.525925926	4.525925926	5.103703704	3.081481481	2.214814815	0.77037037	0.192592593			
			0.068416768	3.114731021	3.764230278	0.17981278	0.061114142	0.514469297	2.97453099	11.36753917	1.438895082	0.77037037	0.192592593		24.4467025	10
J	53		6	2	13	2	8	3	9	6	3	0	1			
			7.590792839	6.913043478	7.861892583	3.795396419	6.37084399	6.37084399	5.286445013	4.337595908	3.117647059	1.084398977	0.271099744			
			0.33338044	3.49165983	3.357988875	0.849304775	0.416608743	1.783529658	2.608651109	0.63712421	0.00439512	1.084398977	1.95977899		16.52686512	10
H	32		3	1	4	2	1	6	9	6	0	0	0			
			4.349514563	3.961165049	4.504854369	2.174757282	3.650485437	3.650485437	3.029126214	4.116504854	1.786407767	0.621359223	0.155339806			
			0.418710992	2.213616029	0.056578507	0.014042996	1.924421607	1.512187565	11.76951083	0.861787873	1.786407767	0.621359223	0.155339806		21.33396319	10
D	23		5	5	3	0	2	1	4	3	0	0	0			
			3.059382423	2.786223278	3.168646081	1.529691211	2.567695962	2.567695962	2.13064133	2.895486936	1.748218527	0.437054632	0.109263658			
			1.230966274	1.758942801	0.008975916	1.529691211	0.125512798	0.957150171	1.640117361	0.003772416	1.748218527	0.437054632	0.109263658		9.549665765	10
X	8		1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0			
			1.027522936	0.935779817	1.064220183	0.513761468	0.862385321	0.862385321	0.71559633	0.972477064	0.587155963	0.422018349	0.036697248			
			0.000737221	0.004407267	0.822840873	0.460190039	0.021959789	1.500683193	0.71559633	0.972477064	0.587155963	0.422018349	0.036697248		5.544763338	10
Y	2		0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0			
			0.253393665	0.230769231	0.262443439	0.126696833	0.212669683	0.212669683	0.176470588	0.239819005	0.14479638	0.104072398	0.036199095			
			0.253393665	0.230769231	0.2727788267	0.126696833	0.212669683	0.212669683	3.843137255	0.239819005	0.14479638	0.104072398	0.036199095		7.223617829	10
															166.7497782	100

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Positively significant relationships are marked by bold type, while negatively significant are marked by underlining.

Top number in each three part cell is number of actual occurrences (O), middle number is predicted frequency (F), bottom is X^2
 $F = ab/(\Sigma a - a)$ for individuals, $F = ab/(\Sigma a)$ for groups ($\Sigma a = \Sigma b$) $X^2 = \Sigma (O-F)^2/F$ Numbers used were from the body of the chart

NOTES

¹ These are pseudonyms. Each member mentioned has been given a name starting with a different letter of the alphabet to make reading the tables easier.

² As Lee Munroe (personal communication) points out, arguments that read importance into randomness (what is expected, after all) are not particularly sound. My hypothesis, however, is that compared to hearing subjects' patterns, Deaf signers have access to communication in a broader physical space than the average speaker of American English and this is part of the creation of a Deaf focus on a general group rather than one on one relationships. More specific comparisons with hearing groups are needed to test this.

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Interest, Relevance and Common Sense in Content-Based Instruction

(a review essay)

The Content-Based Classroom: Perspectives on Integrating Language and Content edited by Marguerite Ann Snow and Donna M. Brinton. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1997. Pp. xvi+431.

Reviewed by John Grinstead
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In this survey of current work on Content-Based Instruction (CBI), the authors offer us a wide array of practical pedagogical suggestions and conveniently bring together a well-rounded overview of where CBI stands today. There are thirty-four chapters divided into three sections. The first section addresses "Multiple Perspectives on Content-Based Instruction" and makes up the bulk of the book. The second and third sections are titled "Practical Issues at a Glance" and "Connections Between Content-Based Instruction and Other Teaching Approaches". Most of the selections grapple with the details of implementing particular aspects of CBI in diverse language teaching environments. The topics range from different perspectives on how best to shelter the ESL curriculum in K-12 instruction, as in the contributions by Nina Glaudini Rosen and Linda Sasser as well as Kate Kinsella, to a case study of adapting an adjunct ESL course at the university level, as in Martha Iancu's chapter.

Our task as language teachers, then, is to evaluate the suggestions provided. In order to make this evaluation, language teachers have frequently turned to researchers in other disciplines for criteria. Typical references are made to Krashen, Vygotsky, Bruner, and Piaget. While such authors have brought us thought-provoking notions such as the zone of proximal development, knowledge co-construction, and comprehensible input, we are eventually driven to figure out whether such notions are of any practical value in the classroom. I am convinced that the insights which undergird Content-Based Instruction are not only quite valuable, but quite justifiable without appealing to constructivist notions of communication or speculative theories of second language acquisition.

For example, group work in language classes and other environments is often justified by appealing to constructivist notions of communication (cf. Kaufman and Grennon Brooks, 1996). However, group work can also be justified by merely observing that people refine their ideas when they offer others the opportunity to

critique them. This critique of one's ideas is the essence of knowledge development and is as consistent with nativist ideas of mind as it is with constructivist notions¹. Similarly, there is no magic in the term "comprehensible input." While some aspects of second language are learned without explicit instruction in roughly the sense of Krashen and Terrell (1983)², others appear not to be learnable without explicit instruction in the light of immersion studies such as Plann (1976) which demonstrate the grammatical deficits of children educated even in elementary school language immersion programs³.

Given that the objective of generative linguistics is to characterize human grammatical competence, it is not surprising that generative linguists might have suggestions about how best to teach language. More pertinent to the question at hand, however, is whether generative linguists have any suggestions about how to evaluate research in language pedagogy. In light of the formal character of generative grammar, one might expect generative grammarians to offer suggestions involving syntactic trees, optimality constraint rankings, judgment relating to the degrees of ungrammaticality of subadjacency and ECP violations, or quantifier scope readings. In fact, at least one generative grammarian appears to have much different advice with respect to approaches to language pedagogy.

The truth of the matter is that about 99 percent of teaching is making the students feel interested in the material. Then the other 1 percent has to do with your methods. And that's not just true of languages. It's true of every subject. We've all gone to schools and colleges, and you all know that you have taken courses in school where you have learned enough to pass the exam, and then a week later you forget what the subject was. Well, that's the problem. Learning doesn't achieve lasting results when you don't see any point to it. Learning has to come from the inside; you have to want to learn. If you want to learn, you'll learn no matter how bad the methods are...The proper conclusion, I think, is this: Use your common sense and use your experience and don't listen too much to the scientists, unless you find that what they say is really of practical value and of assistance in understanding the problems you face, as sometimes it truly is." (from *Language and Problems of Knowledge: The Managua Lectures*, pp. 181-182, Noam Chomsky, 1988).

The three basic suggestions Chomsky makes in this informal exchange are: 1) that promoting learner interest is important to teaching a second language, 2) the learner must perceive the material as relevant in order for self-motivated learning to take place; the learner must want to learn, and 3) on the basis of common sense and experience, teachers can discern on their own what methods are most effective and should not be doctrinaire in their adherence to any particular theory of language acquisition, unless it proves valuable and relevant to overcoming pedagogical obstacles. In evaluating *The Content-Based Classroom*, we will not only see that its contributors fare quite favorably when judged by these criteria, we will see that these are in fact the criteria of CBI practitioners themselves.

Courses taught in the CBI framework attempt to hold the students' interest

and attention by centering the curriculum on some subject other than the specific grammatical and communicative skills the course seeks to develop. While determining what exactly is going to capture the interest of a particular group of students can be tricky, Christine Holten, in her chapter *Literature: A Quintessential Content*, provides several suggestions as to how literature can be used to accomplish this task. Holten makes the point that when a given content area outside the expertise of the student (e.g., Psychology for a Physics major) is chosen as the vehicle through which English as a Second Language will be taught, some students may become frustrated by the increased intellectual demands of reading in an unfamiliar discipline. While discipline-specific content carries this risk, well-chosen literature is less likely to because it is generally based on more universal themes which require no insider understanding of the discipline. She suggests that a literature unit may be taught in conjunction with a discipline-specific content unit, as in for example a sociology unit which addresses the behavior of groups taught in conjunction with Golding's *The Lord of the Flies* (1954). A second alternative is to have an entire unit based on a literary theme such as the place of women in society in which the unit would not necessarily have any relation to the content of other units being taught in the class.

In my experience teaching a university level multi-skills course which included a Psychology unit on memory and another unit based on *The Joy Luck Club*, by Amy Tan (1991), I found that just what Holten suggests is correct. While many students were fascinated by the first unit on memory, there were always a few who simply found the subject matter too challenging or not interesting. These same students were frequently the most engaged in the second half of the class when our attention turned to the *Joy Luck Club's* inter-generational dynamic between immigrant parents and their US-born children, a subject with which our ESL population has much familiarity.

Hence we see that with respect to the place of literature in the CBI framework, Holten's primary objective is keeping students interested and engaged. Once students are engaged by the material, many opportunities for teaching grammar, editing, revision, and vocabulary present themselves. The logic behind such a teaching strategy is not only intuitively appealing, it works. Furthermore, while adherents to the ideas of Krashen or the constructivists may see confirmation of their theoretical views here, I fail to see how such views provide any insight beyond the obvious conclusions stated by Chomsky: interesting content engages students and is more likely to motivate them to want to learn.

An integral part of keeping students interested and engaged in a CBI course is presenting them with material that they find relevant. One kind of relevance comes from shared life experiences, so for example, in the multi-skills class I referred to earlier, a large majority of the students were Chinese. This is likely to have made the experiences of the Chinese immigrants in *The Joy Luck Club* relevant to them. In their contribution, *How Relevant is Relevance?*, James Valentine and Lyn Repath-Martos ask a slightly different question, however. They suggest

that if students feel that the *language skills* they are being taught are relevant, they are more likely to see the point of learning them and consequently have increased motivation to do so. Hence, they carry out a study to determine the perceptions of the students in one of UCLA's advanced multi-skills courses. Using questionnaires as well as intensive interviews with students, they found that large percentages of the students felt that the instructional emphasis placed on various skill areas was *about right*. (reading and writing - 81%, note-taking - 71%, and listening comprehension - 79%). The two weakest areas according to students' perceptions were grammar and vocabulary, on which 47% and 60% respectively felt that *not enough* time was spent. We will return to this question of teaching grammar below, but the essential result of the study is that students in UCLA's ESL service courses perceive their language curriculum to be meeting their needs. Following Valentine and Repath-Martos' plausible assumptions about the connection between relevance and motivation, such perceptions should lead to increased internal motivation and a more lasting learning experience, along the lines suggested above.

While generating interest and fostering internal motivation are goals of CBI, which appear to be well represented in *The Content-Based Classroom*, Chomsky's final admonition that teachers use their common sense and experience to evaluate teaching methods also seems well-represented in the research presented in the book. As asserted by the students interviewed by Valentine and Repath-Martos, grammar and vocabulary may not be receiving the attention they deserve⁴. In David Eskey's overview of the evolution of syllabus design, *Syllabus Design in Content-Based Instruction*, he traces the evolution of syllabus design over the last several decades and also echoes the concerns voiced by the students polled by Valentine and Repath-Martos. He cites the fact that when faced with a choice between fluency and accuracy, CBI typically chooses fluency. Assuming that form and function should be linked in language teaching, Eskey attributes this problem to "...the absence of insightful theoretical work on the relationship between grammatical form and discourse function..." (p. 139). Hence Eskey recognizes that grammar, or "accuracy" in his terms, does not receive enough attention in most current CBI. Eskey's review is a valuable contribution to our vision of syllabus design and its place in Content-Based curricula.

This underemphasis on accuracy is based in large part on CBI's tacit acceptance of Krashen and Terrell's (1983) "Natural Approach" contention that exposing learners to comprehensible input is sufficient in and of itself for second language acquisition to take place. Eskey's recognition of this short-coming is an illustration of "not listening too much to the scientists," in Chomsky's words. It is worth pointing out that there is nothing intrinsic to CBI which dictates that fluency should be emphasized above accuracy. Hopefully, Eskey's recognition that this is a problem is representative of a growing consciousness that teaching grammar is possible and necessary in the CBI environment.⁴

A final example of the importance of applying common sense and experience to language pedagogy can be found by examining the development of Whole

.....Language Teaching. Whole Language teachers David Freeman and Yvonne Freeman answer the question posed in their contribution's title *Whole Language Teaching and Content-Based Instruction: Are They Compatible?* by responding "Yes, absolutely!" This seems true to a great extent. The authors review elements of Whole Language Teaching and CBI which are certainly consistent. Both are student-centered and generally committed to promoting student interest in learning through relevant content. Freeman and Freeman suggest that Whole Language should be applied outside of the elementary school context in which it was conceived, and consequently advise the readers to not view all Whole Language Teaching as elementary school literacy. Such a comment is telling, however, because if Eskey's criticism of the lack of attention to form is valid for CBI, it is ten times more valid for Whole Language. If we ignore the authors' advice and focus on elementary school literacy, we see that while Whole Language practitioners have made important contributions by centering their curricula on interesting, relevant literature, and social critique, their curricula ultimately fail to teach the sound-symbol correspondences necessary for learning to read⁶. Many teachers, of course, shared Whole Language's contempt for boring basal readers, but were taken aback by the notion that grammatical form could be ignored altogether as a matter of curricular policy. The reaction to Whole Language Teaching has thus become an example of teachers using their common sense and experience to evaluate teaching methods, because while many primary school teachers were initially attracted to Whole Language for the reasons discussed, many are now including a more explicit sound-symbol component to their curricula.

Overall, then, *The Content Based Classroom* demonstrates that the intuitive appeal of teaching grammar, language, and communication using relevant, interesting content material, with the development of motivated language learners as its focus has flourished and expanded into many different learning environments over the last ten years. I would argue that this success is the result of employing a pedagogical approach grounded in common sense and experience, because while our understanding of how exactly second language is acquired is still preliminary, we, as language teachers, are nonetheless able to evaluate what works and what does not in the classroom. *The Content-Based Classroom* represents the next stage in the development of CBI. Where Brinton, Snow, and Wesche (1989) argued for the underlying principles of CBI, this most recent volume demonstrates the wide range of applications of the method and also includes food for thought for the directions it may take. It would be a useful text around which to structure a graduate level methods course in a TESL M.A. program.

NOTES

¹ For a general critique of constructivism as well as its principle exponent's defense, see Piatelli-Palmarini, 1980.

² See for example Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1995) for second language acquisition of fairly subtle

aspects of Spanish grammar in the absence of explicit instruction.

¹ Non-grammatical communicative abilities, nonetheless, appear to be quite native-like for the same children.

² For arguments that this may be a misperception on the students' part, see Valentine and Repath-Martos, p. 241-247, *ibid*.

³ In this vein see Celce-Murcia (1992).

⁴ This unfortunate overemphasis on content, which leaves many students behind their non-Whole Language peers, stems from a fundamental confusion of first language acquisition and literacy. This confusion and similar misconceptions about "semilingualism" are rooted in the work of Cummins (1976a, 1976b, 1981) and are discussed at length in MacSwan (1997).

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